

I'm first #

*1741
K951*

108
[INDEXED]

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

OF THE
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

CONTENTS

**Benjamin Tredwell Onderdonk, Fourth Bishop of
New York**

By E. Clowes Chorley

The Diocese of Mississippi and the Confederacy

By Nash Kerr Burger

George Hodges, Popularizer of Church History

By James Arthur Muller

Documentary History—

**Why Dr. Francis Lister Hawks Declined His Election as
First Missionary Bishop of the Southwest**

By Walter Herbert Stowe

Book Reviews

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY

**MARCH
1940**

**PER YEAR
\$4.00**

**PER COPY
\$1.25**

ZRA

9

1940

10'

March

1940

ZRA

26

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

OF THE
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

PUBLISHED AT 5 PATERSON STREET, NEW BRUNSWICK, NEW JERSEY, BY AUTHORITY OF GENERAL CONVENTION, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF A JOINT COMMITTEE OF SAID CONVENTION, AND UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE CHURCH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF:

THE REVEREND
E. CLOWES CHORLEY, D.D., L.H.D.
Garrison, New York

ASSOCIATE EDITORS:

REV. G. MACLAREN BRYDON, D.D.
Richmond, Virginia
REV. JAMES A. MULLER, Ph.D.
Cambridge, Massachusetts
REV. EDGAR L. PENNINGTON, S.T.D.
Miami, Florida
REV. WALTER H. STOWE, S.T.D.
New Brunswick, N. J.
RT. REV. FRANK E. WILSON, D.D.
Esu Claire, Wisconsin
VEN. WILFRED R. H. HODGKIN, D.D.
San Francisco, California
REV. DU BOSE MURPHY
El Paso, Texas

BUSINESS MANAGER AND TREASURER:

THE REVEREND
WALTER H. STOWE, S.T.D.
5 Paterson Street
New Brunswick, N. J.

JOINT COMMITTEE OF GENERAL CONVENTION:

CHAIRMAN:

THE REVEREND
WALTER H. STOWE, S.T.D.
5 Paterson Street
New Brunswick, N. J.

SECRETARY:

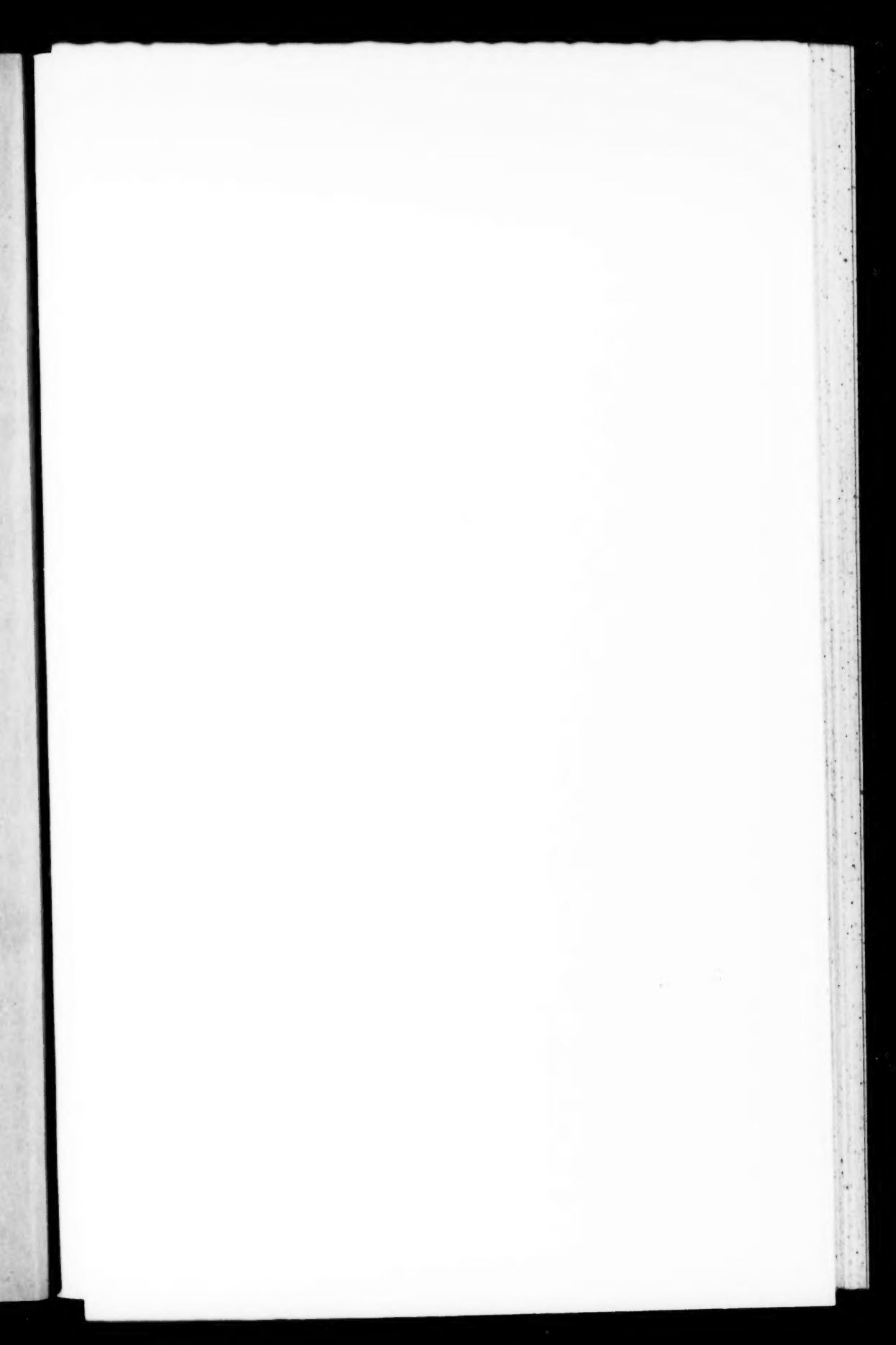
THE REVEREND
G. MACLAREN BRYDON, D.D.
110 West Franklin Street
Richmond, Virginia

RT. REV. JAMES DEWOLFE PERRY, D.D.
RT. REV. EDWARD L. PARSONS, D.D.
RT. REV. JAMES M. MAXON, D.D.
RT. REV. FRANK E. WILSON, D.D.
REV. E. CLOWES CHORLEY, D.D.
REV. E. L. PENNINGTON, S.T.D.
HON. C. MCK. WHITEMORE
PROF. JOSEPH H. BEALE
HON. ALEXANDER B. ANDREWS
DR. FRANK W. MOORE

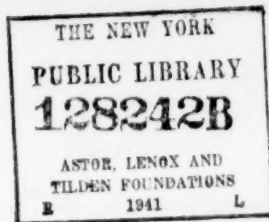
PUBLICATION OFFICE: 5 Paterson St., New Brunswick, N. J. Address all subscriptions to HISTORICAL MAGAZINE as above. Four Dollars per year in advance. Checks should be drawn payable to HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

EDITORIAL OFFICE: Garrison, New York. All communications and manuscripts for publication, including books and pamphlets for review, to be addressed as above. The editors are not responsible for the accuracy of the statements of contributors.

Entered as second-class matter September 17, 1935, at the Post Office at New Brunswick, N. J., with additional entry at the Post Office at Richmond, Va., under the Act of March 3, 1879.







HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

INDEX TO VOLUME IX. (1940.)

Four Numbers—March, June, September, December, 1940

R—for Book Reviews

- Andrews, Rev. Samuel, 288.
Anglican Clergy of Pennsylvania in the American Revolution, The, R96.
Anthon, Rev. Henry, 1, 13, 36, 179.
Appendix III to Gen'l. Conv. Journal of 1789, 345-348.
Apthorp, Rev. East, 275.
Archives:
—Aberdeen, 240.
—General Convention, 171-192.
—Scottish, 338.
—S. P. G., 130, 176-179.

Badger, Rev. Moses, 299.
Bailey, Rev. Jacob, 301-2.
Baylies, Edmund L, 353, 355, 356, 366.
Bass, Bp. Edward, 144, 146, 147, 148, 152-3, 154, 155, 156, 158, 160, 161, 164, 165, 166, 270, 279-80.
Beach, Rev. John, 290-91.
Bentley, Wm., 143, 145-46.
—Diary, 144-50.
Bibliographies:
—N. E. Clergy in Am. Revolution, 304.
—Onderdonk, Bp. Benj. T., 45-51.
Bioren reprints, 173, 183.
Bishoprics, colonial, 133.
Bishops:
—American, record of consecrations, 182.
—Court of, 22ff.
—Danish, 231, 232, 235, 237.
—English Nonjurors, 331-32, 337-43.
—Roman Catholic, 330 (footnote).
—Scottish, 231-46, 323, 330, 332-37, 343-48.

Bisset, Rev. George, 283.
Bloxxom, Rev. J. R., 231.
Bostwick, Rev. Gideon, 292.
Boucher, Rev. Jonathan, 341-42.
Bowman, Bp. Samuel, 109, 122-23.
Brett, Bp. Thomas, 337, 338, 339.
Browne, Rev. Arthur, 298.
Burgon, Dean, 232, 234.
Byles, Rev. Mather, Jr., 273, 298.

Campbell, Bp. Archibald, 330, 332, 337, 338, 339.
Caner, Rev. Henry, 271-72, 282.
Carey, Arthur, 12-14.
Cartwright, Wm., 340, 341, 342.
Chandler, Rev. T. B., 134-35, 137, 341.
Chorley, Rev. E. C., 191-93.
Church, Calvary, Pittsburgh, 80-83.
Church, Protestant Episcopal:
—in Connecticut, 284-98, 324-25.
—in Maine, 299-302.
—in Massachusetts, 142-66, 270-81.
—in Mississippi, 52-57.
—in New England, 267-303.
—in New Hampshire, 298-99.
—in New Jersey, 131-41.
—in New York, 1-17, 30-38.
—in Pennsylvania, 107-130.
—in Rhode Island, 281-84.
—in Virginia, 199-230.
—in Wisconsin, 252-56.
Clark, Rev. Wm., 280-81.
Clarke, Rev. Richard S., 291.
Collier, Bp. Jeremy, 324, 337, 338, 339.
Columbia University, 257-60.
Connecticut, Church in, *see under Church.*

- Consecration, a regular and valid, 330-31.
 —American record of, 182.
 —see under Bishops.
- Convention, General, see under General
- Convention, Diocesan, see under Church.
- Cooper, Myles, 238, 258-59.
- Cossit, Rev. Ranna, 299.
- Court of bishops, 22ff.
- Cutler, Rev. Timothy, 272.
- Danish bishops, see under Bishops.
- Deacon, Thomas, 340.
- Dibblee, Rev. Ebenezer, 289.
 —Letter of, 268-9.
- Documentary History, 90-92, 154-66, 261.
- Documents, Church, 171-93.
- Douglas, Rev. Robert, 328, 329, 330, 345, 346.
- Drummond, Bp. Wm. Abernethy, 323, 326, 345.
- Duer, John, 16.
- Eastern Diocese, 105, 166.
- Edward, King of Mosquito Indians, 307.
- Episcopal Church, An Introduction to*, R264.
- Errata*, 367.
- Evangelical, A Great, 97-130.
- Evans, Rev. Evan, 132.
- Fayerweather, Rev. Samuel, 282-83.
- Fell, Rev. James, 360-62.
- First Hundred Years, The* (Church of the Holy Cross, Ticonderoga, N. Y.), R95-96.
- Fisher, Rev. Nathaniel, 145, 147, 148, 154, 155, 156, 158, 160, 161, 278.
- Fletcher, Chaplain Francis, 349.
- Fogg, Rev. Daniel, 235, 236, 240, 241.
- From Strachan to Owen* (Planting of Church of England in British North America), R93.
- Gadderar, Bp. James, 329, 332-33, 337, 338, 344, 346.
- Gardiner, Dr. Sylvester, 330.
- General Convention:
 —Archives, 171-193.
 —Journals, 171-193.
 —see under Griffith, Onderdonk, Potter, and Seabury.
- Gibbs, Rev. Wm., 293.
- Gibson, Rev. Richard, 298.
- Golden Jubilee, 1889-1939* (St. Andrew's Church, Poughkeepsie), R170.
- Graves, Rev. John, 282.
- Graves, Rev. Matthew, 295-96.
- Green, Bp. Wm. Mercer, 53-77.
- Griffith, Dr. David, 194-230.
 —Birth, 194.
 —Bishop-elect of Va., 220.
 —Chaplain, 201-209.
 —Convention, General, 219-222.
 —Convention, Virginia, 220-22.
 —Death, 220, 222.
 —Letters, 196-98, 202-10, 212-18, 223-28.
 —Ministry in New Jersey, 194-98.
 —Ministry in Virginia, 199-230.
 —Ordination, 194.
 —Petition to Va. legislature, 215-17.
 —Portrait, 194.
 —Resigns election, 222.
- Harriott Pinckney Home, 358.
- Hart, Rev. Samuel, 189-90.
- Hawks, Rev. F. L., 35, 90-92, 173-81, 184.
- Hickes, Bp. George, 331, 332, 343, 345.
- Historical Collections, P. E., 181-82.
- Historical Documents, Preservation of, 171-193.
- Historical Records Survey, WPA:*
 —*Calendar of Abraham Graham Bell Correspondence*, R263-64.
 —*Calendar of Letters of Peter Force*, R263-64.
 —*Church Activities in West Virginia*, R96.
 —*Inventory of Church Archives of Mississippi*, R265.
 —*Inventory of Church Archives of New Jersey*, R264-65.
 —*Inventory of the Church Records of Michigan*, R368.
- Historiographer, 179, 181, 184, 189, 191.
- Hobhouse, Bp., 233.
- Hodges, Rev. George, 78-89.

- Hopkins, Bp. J. H., 15, 22, 24, 26, 249.
 Hubbard, Rev. Bela, 287-88.
 Indians, Mosquito, 305-21.
 Inglis, Rev. Charles, 138, 141, 269.
I Remember, R170.
 Jarvis, Rev. Abraham, 237, 238, 239, 242, 292-93.
 Jessup, Col. Wm., 136.
 Johnson, Rev. Daniel Van M., 352.
 Johnson, Rev. Samuel, 258, 285, 311.
 Johnson, Wm. Samuel, 259.
 Jones, Rev. Henry, 313-14.
 Journals of Gen. Convention, 171-93.
 Kilgour, Bp. Robert, 242, 245, 334, 335, 344, 347, 348.
 King's Chapel, Boston, 270-71.
 King, Stanton H., 359-60.
 Kneeland, Rev. Ebenezer, 285.
 Lafayette, Marquis de (letter of), 230.
 Leaming, Rev. Jeremiah, 237, 289-90.
 List of Consecrations:
 —American bishops, 182.
 —Scottish bishops, 345-48.
 London, Bishop of, 133-34, 137.
 Madison, Bp. James, 222, 229-30.
 Maine, Church in, *see under* Church.
 Mansfield, Rev. Archibald R., 353-55, 356.
 Mansfield, Rev. Richard, 285-86.
 Marshall, Rev. John Rutgers, 291.
 Massachusetts Constitutional Convention, 143-153.
 —Churches, 147.
 —Constitution, 162-64.
 —Minutes, 154-66.
 McGilchrist, Rev. Wm., 277.
 McSparran, Rev. James, 282, 283.
 Meade, Bp. Wm., 19, 21, 171, 214.
 Mississippi, Diocese of, 52-77.
 Morgan, J. P., 189-91.
 Mosquito Indians, S. P. G. and, 305-21.
 New England, Clergy in, 267-304.
 New Jersey, S. P. G. in, 131-141.
 New York Historical Society, 192.
 Newton, Rev. Christopher, 295.
 Nicholas, Rev. James, 291-92.
 Nickolls, Rev. Robt. B., 277-78.
 Nichols, Bp. Wm. Ford, 349, 360-61, 364, 365, 366.
 Non-Jurors, English & Scottish, *see under* Bishops.
 Nott, Dr. Eliphalet, 98-100, 101, 104-05.
 Odell, Rev. Jonathan, 137, 140.
 Ogden, Rev. John C., 147, 148, 161.
 Onderdonk, Bishop Benj. T., 1-51.
 —Bibliography, 45-51.
 —Birth, 2.
 —Carey Ordination, 12, 14, 16.
 —Consecration, 2.
 —Court Judgment of, 25.
 —Death, 39.
 —Division of Diocese, 8.
 —Election to episcopate, 1.
 —Growth of diocese, 8.
 —Ordination, 3.
 —Presentment, Trial, and Suspension, 19-29.
 Onderdonk, Bp. Henry U., 43, 107-09.
 Parker, Rev. Benj. C. C., 350, 351, 352.
 Parker, Bp. Samuel, 143ff, 270, 274-75.
 Paterson, Bp. John, 328, 329, 345.
 Peat, Rev. Joshua, 307, 308, 309-11.
 Perry, Bp. Wm. Stevens, 171, 184-89, 231, 235.
 Peters, Rev. Samuel, 293-295.
 Petrie, Bp. Arthur, 241, 244, 326, 335, 344, 347, 348.
 Portraits:
 —Bass, Bp. Edward, 142, 145.
 —Fisher, Rev. N., 145.
 —Griffith, David, 194.
 —Parker, Bp. Samuel, 145.
 —Walter, Rev. Wm., 145.
 Post, Christian Frederick, 314-20.
 Potter, Bishop Alonzo, 97-130.
 —Birth and Education, 98-101.
 —Boston, ministry in, 102-04.
 —Death, 129.
 —Election to episcopate, 109.
 —Episcopate, 110-30.
 —Marriage, 101.
 —Philadelphia Divinity School, 120-21.
 —Schools, 119-21.
 —Union College, 98-102, 104-07.
 Prayer Book, Nonjuring of 1718, 333, 337-38.

- Present State of Virginia (1697)*, R167-68.
 Price, Kenrick, 340-41.
 Prince, Rev. Nathan, 311-313.
- Rattray, Bp. Thomas, 333-34, 344, 346.
Religion and the State in Georgia in the 18th Century, R94-95.
 Revolutionary War, 136-40, 201-211, 267-304.
 Rice, Rev. E. B., 191-92.
 Richmond, James C., 20-21.
 Rose, Bp. Alexander, 328, 329, 330, 332, 345, 346.
 Routh, Dr. Martin J., 231-246.
- Salvador de Madariaga. Christopher Columbia*, R168-70.
 Sayre, Rev. John, 286-87.
 Scottish bishops, *see under* Bishops.
 Scottish Episcopal Succession, 322-48.
 Scovil, Rev. James, 288-89.
 Seabury, Bishop Samuel, 231-46, 297-98, 322-48.
 —Consecration, 334-35.
 —Episcopal lineage, 343-48.
 —Letters of, 323-25, 341.
 —Non-Jurors, relations with, 337-43.
 Seabury, Dr. Samuel, 10, 12, 14, 30, 39, 40.
 Seamen's Church Institute, 350ff.
 Seamen, Church's work for, 349-367.
 —in Boston, 358-60.
 —in Charleston, 358.
 —in Honolulu, 364.
 —in New York, 350-55.
 —in Philadelphia, 356-57.
 —in San Francisco, 360-64.
 Serjeant, Rev. Winwood, 275-76.
 Shaw, Rev. Mr., 317-18.
 Shelton, Rev. Philo, 287.
 Skinner, Bp. John, 244, 245, 246, 325, 326, 335, 343, 344, 345, 347, 348.
 Smith, Rev. Hugh, 13.
 Smith, Rev. Wm., 195.
 South Carolina Memorial, 18.
 South, University of, 53-54.
 S. P. G., The, and
 —Mosquito Indians, 305-21.
 —in New England, 267-304.
 —in New Jersey, 131-41.
 Stanford, Rev. Wm., 318.
 Stevens, Bp. Wm. B., 98, 104, 123, 130.
St. George Tucker, R96.
Sunday Schools, Later Episcopal, R93.
- Talbot, Rev. John, 132, 338.
Thomas Bray's Associates and their work among the Negroes, R96.
 Thompson, Rev. Ebenezer, 276.
 Thomson, Rev. Wm., 131.
 Trapier, Rev. Paul, 18-19.
 Trelawney, Governor, 307, 308, 311, 313, 314.
 Troutbeck, Rev. John, 272.
 Tyler, Rev. John, 297.
 Tyng, Dr. S. H., 16, 32, 36, 109.
- Usages, Major and Minor, 338.
 Usher, Rev. John, 282.
- Vicksburg, Miss., 52, 59, 65, 248-50.
 Viets, Rev. Roger, 293.
 Vinton, Rev. F., 37, 38.
- Wainwright, Bp. J. M., 1, 35.
 Walter, Rev. Wm., 143, 145, 148, 149, 150, 152-53, 160, 161, 162, 164, 274, 280.
- War Periods:
 —Civil War, 51-69.
 —Revolutionary, 136-40, 201-11, 267-304.
- Warren, Rev. Thomas, 316-17.
 Weeks, Rev. Joshua W., 278-79.
 Welles, Bp. Edward R., 247-256.
 —Birth, 247.
 —Children, 252.
 —Death, 256.
 —Education, 247-48.
 —Episcopate, 252-56.
 —Marriage, 252.
 —Ordination, 250.
 —Red Wing, Minn., 250-52.
 —Vicksburg, Miss., 248-50.
 Wharton, Rev. C. H., 259.
 Wheeler, Rev. Wm. W., 146, 147, 148, 154, 155, 160, 284.
 Winslow, Rev. Edward, 276.
 Wiswall, Rev. John, 300.

Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church

VOL. IX

MARCH, 1940

No. 1

BENJAMIN TREDWELL ONDERDONK, FOURTH BISHOP OF NEW YORK

By E. Clowes Chorley

JOHN HENRY HOBART, third Bishop of New York, died while on a visitation at Auburn on September 12, 1830. Three weeks later the diocesan convention held its regular annual meeting in Trinity Church, New York City. Friday evening was appointed for the filling of the vacancy in the episcopate, at which time the "convention engaged in singing the last three verses of the 122nd Psalm; after which some minutes were spent in secret prayer, and then some appropriate collects and prayers were read from the Liturgy by the President", the Rev. Dr. Thomas Lyell, rector of Christ Church.¹

The record of the election runs as follows: "The tellers having counted the ballots, reported that the Rev. Benjamin T. Onderdonk, D. D., had a majority of the votes of each order". Although not recorded in the Journal it was known that the Rev. Henry Anthon, D. D., rector of St. Stephen's Church received six votes, and a few more were cast for the Rev. Dr. Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright, rector of Grace Church.² The record goes on to say:

"Whereupon, it was on motion, unanimously *Resolved*, That the Rev. Benjamin T. Onderdonk, D. D., be, and he is hereby, declared duly elected Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New York".

It was further determined "That public thanksgiving to Almighty God, for the happy termination of this important business, be rendered by this Convention, at 9 O'clock tomorrow morning".³

The committee appointed to notify the bishop-elect reported that:

¹*Convention Journal*, 1830, p 75.

²*Later Provisional Bishop of New York.*

³*Convention Journal*, 1830, p 75.

"Dr. Onderdonk expressed his sensibility to the confidence manifested in him, and the honor conferred by the Convention; and his determination, relying on the kind assistance and co-operation of his brethren, and the directing and supporting influences of divine grace, to accept the office"⁴

He was consecrated in St. John's Chapel, in the city of New York, on Friday, November 26, 1830. The consecrators were the venerable Bishop White; Thomas Church Brownell, Bishop of Connecticut, and his brother, Henry Ustick Onderdonk, Assistant Bishop of Pennsylvania. Morning Prayer was said by the Rev. Dr. Lyell, and the lessons were read by the Rev. Dr. James Milnor, rector of St. George's. Bishop Brownell preached the sermon from Colossians, iv, 17: "Take heed to the ministry which thou hast received in the Lord, that thou fulfil it". The bishop-elect was presented by his brother and Bishop Brownell; his attending presbyters were Dr. Wainwright and William Richmond, rector of St. Michael's. The certificate of election was read by the Rev. Levi S. Ives⁵ and the consents of the Bishops and Standing Committees by the Rev. Dr. William Berrian, rector of Trinity Church, and the Rev. Dr. George Upfold.⁶ Immediately after the consecration Bishop White made a brief address in the course of which he revealed the fact that Bishop Hobart had expressed to him the hope that Dr. Onderdonk might be chosen as his successor.⁷

In formally reporting his consecration to the diocesan convention, at the next meeting, Bishop Onderdonk said:

"God grant that the thoughts inspired by the solemnities of that day may never be eradicated from my mind. And let me my brethren, of the clergy and laity, have your faithful, fervent prayers for that grace which alone can give the guidance and aid necessary for the discharge of the momentous trusts to which I was then set apart".⁸

Thus, under the happiest auspices, began an episcopate destined to come to so sudden and tragic an end.

Benjamin Tredwell was born in the City of New York on July 15, 1791, and was baptized in Trinity Church on August 19. He was a son of Dr. John and Deborah (Ustick) Onderdonk, his father being one of the leading physicians of the city; a devout churchman and a vestryman of Trinity Parish from 1801 to 1832. His older brother, Henry Ustick, who held a medical degree, was elected assistant bishop of Pennsylvania in 1827. At the age of fifteen Benjamin entered Columbia Col-

⁴*Convention Journal*, 1830, p 76.

⁵Son-in-law of Bishop Hobart; later Bishop of N. Carolina.

⁶Later Bishop of Indiana.

⁷*Dix. History of Trinity Parish*, Vol. iv, p 130.

⁸*Convention Journal*, 1831, p 15.

lege, of which he became a trustee in 1824. There being no theological seminaries at that time, he studied for the ministry in Bishop Hobart's Theological Society, and was ordered deacon by that bishop in St. Paul's Chapel on August 2, 1812, he being then twenty-two years of age. Under the direction of the bishop he officiated in Trinity Parish and in 1814 was appointed assistant minister serving in that capacity until 1835. The following year he was ordained priest by Bishop Hobart in Trinity Church, Newark, New Jersey.

He early won a prominent place in the diocese and in the Church at large. He succeeded Dr. Lyell as secretary of the diocesan convention, and was elected a member of the Standing Committee. In 1817 he served as secretary of the House of Bishops. From 1819 to 1829 he was a deputy to the General Convention, and for a time was secretary of the House of Deputies. When the General Theological Seminary was established in New York he became the Professor of the Nature, Ministry and Polity of the Church, serving without compensation.

In view of the grave charges subsequently brought against him it is significant to recall the esteem in which he was held by his clerical and lay contemporaries during his years as a presbyter and his active episcopate. He was easily the leading presbyter of the diocese; a recognized authority on canons and the Constitution; the trusted friend and adviser of Bishop Hobart, and respected alike for his ability and character.

As a parish priest he endeared himself to those entrusted to his pastoral care, especially to the poor and needy in Trinity Parish. Writing of those days the Rev. Dr. Berrian, rector of Trinity, said:

"I had been at that time in habits of the closest intimacy with him for thirty years. I became acquainted with him at College in early life, he was my fellow student in Divinity, and as soon as he was ordained, he was associated with me in the same parish, from opening manhood till he had considerably passed the period of middle age. From our common duties and our mutual regard, we were brought into constant intercourse with each other, so that all his infirmities and faults, as well as his virtues and graces, were laid open before me.

In his very youth he was grave, sedate and thoughtful to a degree which is seldom seen; correct in his principles; pure in heart, and unspotted in life. In his academic pursuits and in his preparation for the ministry, he was so unwearied in his diligence and so laudable in his ambition as to have distinguished himself greatly in both. And when at length he entered upon the exercise of his office, it was with such a devout temper of mind, and such a conscientious view of his duties, and such a fixed determination to discharge them as within the range of my observation, at least, has never been

surpassed. These duties, in the very outset of his course in this extensive Parish, were exceedingly heavy. But he never shrank from any labor, he never tired in his own work, nor hesitated in an emergency to help his brethren. He had at once the physical strength which enabled him to bear the utmost degree of labor, and the ready will to perform it with cheerfulness. But he was not only indefatigable in the performance of his public duties, but most assiduous and faithful as a pastor, going about continually doing good, and especially among the sick and needy, the afflicted and distressed.

The pastoral attention to the members of the Parish, was a duty to which I had always attached the greatest importance myself, and which, according to my ability, I had endeavored to discharge. I was constantly among the people, where he was held in the utmost respect and affection, and where, until several years after his entrance into the Episcopate, the breath of reproach had never reached him. They are witnesses with me how holily and unblamedly he behaved himself among us".⁹

At the time of Dr. Onderdonk's election as bishop in 1830 the diocese of New York embraced the entire State from Montauk Point to the far-flung Canadian border. It contained 140 clergy; 182 congregations, including 19 churches in the city, together with Trinity and its two chapels of St. Paul's and St. John's. At his first convention thirteen new parishes were admitted into union.

There being no provision for the support of the episcopate, the bishop perforce retained his position as an assistant minister of Trinity Parish, but the appointment of the Rev. W. R. Whittingham¹⁰ as special preacher set him comparatively free for parochial visitations. His first confirmation was in the chapel of the Brooklyn Navy Yard from whence he visited the Long Island parishes. Where there was no Episcopal church he records preaching in Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian buildings; often in country schoolhouses, and on one occasion in "a large room in a public house". Pausing to consecrate St. Clement's Church in the city, which he described as "a beautifully neat and commodious edifice", he passed on to visit the parishes in Westchester, Putnam, Dutchess and Orange Counties, and the two churches then on Staten Island. Following the example of Bishop Hobart, he selected the summer months for his visitations to the distant parts of the State. There were no railroads and the long journeys had to be made by carriage, canal boats or stage coaches. In July he began at Albany and Troy and conducted the first services "peculiar to the episcopal office" at Plattsburgh where he consecrated Trinity Church. Attending the commencement at Geneva College, he describes it "as one

⁹*Berrian. Historical Sketch of Trinity Church, New York, pp 313-315.*

¹⁰*Later Bishop of Maryland.*

of the most respectable in our country, and peculiarly deserving the patronage and support of the members of our Church".¹¹ A wide sweep brought him to Syracuse, Rochester, Buffalo and Niagara. He recorded with peculiar gratification preaching through an interpreter to the congregation of Oneida Indians when prayers were read in their own tongue by the Rev. Solomon Davis, their missionary. This visitation, which began on July 10 and ended on September 12, witnessed 861 confirmations; the consecration of three churches; the institution of five rectors; many baptisms, sermons and celebrations of the holy communion. During the first year of his episcopate he reports spending about a third of the year in travelling over a great part of the State, and adds: "Nor can I refrain from recording my sensibility to the kind and hospitable manner in which I was everywhere greeted . . . but still more grateful is the duty of adverting to the state of spiritual prosperity, which, with few exceptions, happily distinguishes the churches of the diocese, so far as my knowledge of them extends".¹² In the same address he reported twenty candidates for holy orders and forty-nine missionary stations. The missionaries received from the diocese a stipend of one hundred and twenty-five dollars and depended upon their congregations to eke out a bare living. The diocesan Missionary Committee in referring to the

"State of religious excitement which prevails in many neighborhoods through our diocese, observed that under the Providence of God, the services of the Church are in our day the only safeguard against wild fanaticism, and unsound doctrine, so that the best interests of the community are essentially involved in the number and prosperity of the missions which your committee are enabled to maintain".¹³

One of the outstanding features of Bishop Onderdonk's episcopate was the beginning of missionary work within the confines of the city of New York. Coincident with the opening of the Erie Canal and subsequently, there was a very large increase of the working class population. The existing parishes made no provision for the spiritual welfare of such folk. They were the homes of the socially privileged and prided themselves upon their "respectability", as witness the parochial reports in the *Journal*. Pews were sold at public auction to the highest bidder, and when not sold, were rented. In his first convention address the bishop called attention "to the vast increase in this city of the number of those who are totally unable to provide themselves with

¹¹*Convention Journal*, 1831, p 21-22.

¹²*Ibid.*, p 27.

¹³*Ibid.*, p 35.

the ministrations of religion, including many of our own communion, and of our sister Churches of England and Ireland, and the immense numbers among us who are the proper objects of that highest of Christian charities, which cares for the souls of those who care not for their own".¹⁴

At the suggestion of the Missionary Association of Christ Church, a meeting was held on September 29, 1831, at which the New York Protestant Episcopal City Mission Society was organized. The bishop gave the plan his full approval and at his suggestion the diocesan convention determined that "so much of the Missionary concerns of this diocese as relates to the City of New York, be committed, until the further pleasure of this Convention, to the Protestant Episcopal City Mission Society of New York".¹⁵ In December, 1831, the Rev. Benjamin C. Cutler¹⁶ was appointed the first city missionary. His only two male communicants at the outset were two students of Columbia College, paid workers; the Sunday School had six enrolled pupils. Almost immediately, however, the opportunity offered to purchase an unused Reformed Dutch Church. With the aid of Trinity Parish and a few individuals, the property was bought and fitted for use as an Episcopal church. In reporting his official acts to the convention of 1832 the bishop said:

"Saturday, November 19th. I enjoyed the rich satisfaction of consecrating the Mission Church of the Holy Evangelists, the first-fruits of the New York Protestant Episcopal City Mission Society, of which the organization was reported to the last meeting".¹⁷

He pointed out that young men and women, respectable and pious, but not wealthy, were moving into the city in large numbers and, for want of proper provision for their attendance in parish churches, were in danger of being lost to the Church. "That want", he added, "is now

¹⁴*Convention Journal*, 1831, p. 33.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 55.

¹⁶Benjamin Clarke, son of Benjamin C. and Sarah (Mitchell) Cutler, was born at Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts, February 6, 1798, and baptized in Trinity Church, Boston, by his uncle, the Rev. Dr. Samuel Parker, later being confirmed by Bishop Griswold. After three years in business he entered Brown College, Providence, graduating in 1822. During his college days he served as a lay reader, and on September 14, 1822, he was ordered deacon by Bishop Griswold, and appointed minister in charge of Christ Church, Quincy, Mass., being advanced to the priesthood on March 16, 1825. He married Harriet, daughter of James Bancroft, of Boston. The climate of New England was too severe and after temporarily officiating in Virginia he accepted Bishop Onderdonk's offer of the City Mission work. In 1833 he became rector of St. Ann's, Brooklyn, and continued there until his death on February 10, 1863. (Gray. *Memoir of the Rev. Benjamin Cutler*, D. D., New York: Randolph, 1865.)

¹⁷*Convention Journal*, 1832, p. 4.

happily supplied. The Mission Church is opened to all without money and without price".

Mr. Cutler reported a congregation of about 500 persons, "some of whom are from other Episcopal churches in the city, but the greater part are foreigners, English and Irish Protestants, and persons who are not in the habit of attending public worship in any of our churches".¹⁸

This was only the beginning. In 1833 six adults, with two prayer books between them, and a few ragged children, assembled for worship on the feast of the Epiphany in a small room over an engine-house in the north-east part of the city. The services were transferred to a hall on the corner of Allen and Houston Streets. The City Mission Society adopted the work as its second station, and appointed the Rev. Lot Jones¹⁹ as the missionary. By 1834 the congregation had grown to 400 and the Sunday School to 300. The corner-stone of this mission church of the Epiphany, on the north side of Stanton Street, was laid by Bishop Richard Channing Moore, of Virginia, on August 26, 1833, and it was consecrated by Bishop Onderdonk on June 28, 1834.²⁰

In recording the consecration of this church Bishop Onderdonk took occasion to utter some plain truths to those in the Church who were content to be at ease in Zion. He said:

"Thousands still wander through our streets, to whom the Gospel,—its word and its Church—are as strange as if there were a broad wall of adamant between it and them. Our ordinary churches, so far from inviting, virtually exclude them. Let them then, indulge me, while I say that, easy as they may feel in the enjoyment of those spiritual privileges for which they liberally pay in their well furnished places of worship, there rests upon them a heavy burden of responsibility touching the poor against whom these places are virtually barred. The City Mission Society offers to be their almoner in remedying this crying evil. Can they act a truly Christian part, unless they bring the requisite portion of their worldly substance to the good work of sustaining this Society in its holy enterprises? They possess the means. No one well acquainted with the facts will deny this. As long then as this Society, as at present, but partially and inefficiently answers to the good end of its establishment, so long must guilt rest upon the churchmen of this

¹⁸*Convention Journal*, 1832, p. 69.

¹⁹The Rev. Lot Jones was born at Brunswick, Maine, in 1797 and joined the Episcopal Church while at Bowdoin College. Ordained by Bishop Griswold, his earlier ministry was spent in the Eastern Diocese, and later at Christ Church, Macon, Georgia, and in Massachusetts. He was one of the Evangelical leaders in the Church, but valued apostolic order. On the incorporation of the Church of the Epiphany in 1845, he became rector and so continued until his death in 1865.

²⁰Russell. *A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Epiphany, in the City of New York*, p. 4.

city, proportioned, in individual cases, to individual ability to remedy the evil".²¹

Never before, in the entire history of the Church in New York, had the chief shepherd spoken so plainly to his flock; never before had the conscience of that Church been so rudely awakened to the responsibility of the privileged for the poor. It should be added that throughout his active episcopate Bishop Onderdonk was the chief counsellor, the steadfast friend and supporter of the Society. Truly, he fulfilled the promise he made at his consecration to "be merciful for Christ's sake to poor and needy people, and to all strangers destitute of help".

Although unsparing of himself, it became increasingly evident that a division of the diocese of New York was inevitable. The rapid development of the Church in the northern and western parts of the State called for episcopal supervision beyond the physical powers of one bishop who of necessity resided in New York.

Division, however, was difficult. Up to this time every diocese in the American Church was co-terminous with the State. A bishop was Bishop of the State. His official title was "Bishop of the State of . . ."; not, "Bishop of the Diocese", and on the part of many there was a reluctance to depart from a tradition which was established at the adoption of the Constitution in 1789. But, largely to meet the situation in New York, the Constitution was amended by the General Convention of 1838 so as to permit the division of a diocese within a State. Acting under this new provision boundaries were agreed upon and the diocese of Western New York was created in 1838 with 92 organized churches and congregations and 66 clergy entitled to seats in the convention. William H. De Lancey, a member of an old New York family, was elected as first bishop. This left the mother diocese, consisting of the present dioceses of New York, Long Island, Albany and Central New York, with 142 congregations and 127 clergy. In the nearly eight years of his administration, up to the division of the diocese, Bishop Onderdonk had confirmed 8,896 persons; ordered 148 deacons; ordained 112 priests and consecrated 96 churches. In 1792 the diocese had 20 clergy; by 1838 the number had grown to 246. Congregations grew from 115 in 1817 to 238 in 1838. And this ratio of growth continued throughout the years of Bishop Onderdonk's active administration.

From every point of view it was a notable episcopate, and was so recognized throughout the Church, and especially in the diocese. In later years when party passion had subsided, the clergy and laity gathered for his funeral recorded their conviction "that he has been ex-

²¹*Convention Journal*, 1834, p 30-31.

celled by very few who have filled the Episcopate in our branch of the Church, in an ardent desire to promote what he deemed her interest and prosperity, in an untiring zeal to aid in her welfare, and in indefatigable labors in the performance of his duties".²²

The Standing Committee of the diocese testified that "they ever found him the courteous gentleman, the learned canonist, the judicious counsellor, the firm untiring administrator of the concerns of this great diocese, which for more than seven years of his Episcopate, comprised the whole State of New York".²³

Upon such a man, with such an unspotted record, descended like a bolt from the blue, the stunning blow of a presentment charging him with "impurity and immorality".

The sad story of what led up to that presentment; the trial and the sentence is long and complicated, and it is this writer's effort to outline it clearly without passion or prejudice.

That his churchmanship was a factor in the proceedings appears to be without question. A disciple of John Henry Hobart, Onderdonk ranked as "a Hobart man", but, like many disciples, he went far in advance of his master and mentor. Hobart happily combined in equal degree devotion to "Evangelical Truth and Apostolic Order", maintaining an almost perfect balance between the two. Onderdonk clung tenaciously to "apostolic order", but lacked the Evangelical fervor. Ecclesiastical order overshadowed Evangelical truth. In his 1841 Address he described

"Protestantism is being riven to the centre with internal dissension; covering with its name every variety of schism, and every bold and wicked innovation of heresy; forming an unholy alliance with the veriest infidelity . . . The rejection of Christ's priesthood, the rejection of His sacraments, every species of schismatic organization, every kind of erroneous and strange doctrine, every grade of heresy, is called by the name protestant, is, in the true meaning of the term, and vaunts itself as the legitimate result of the great privilege of private judgment, and the bounden duty of casting off the degrading and sinful yoke of papal despotism and corruption".²⁴

This made sorry reading for such stalwart "protestants" as the Bishops of Kentucky, Illinois, Delaware, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Ohio all of whom sat in the trial court. In the 1843 convention Bishop Onderdonk spoke of his uniform endeavor "to adhere to those

²²*Obsequies and Obituary Notices of the late Rt. Rev. Bishop Benjamin T. Onderdonk*, p. 33.

²³*Obsequies and Obituary Notices*, p. 36.

²⁴*Convention Journal, 1841*, p. 21.

great Catholic principles which, revealed in the Gospel, have ever been held valuable and important, as incorporated into the evangelical system, by all pure branches of the Church of Christ . . . whether those principles have had levelled against them the fulminations of papal tyranny and usurpation, or those of Protestant zeal for erroneous and strange doctrines, contrary to God's word, my devotion to them has strengthened with years, reflection and experience, and with it my determination, God being my helper, to continue faithful and consistent with that devotion".²⁵

Less than three years after Onderdonk's consecration John Keble preached the memorable sermon on "National Apostasy" before the University of Oxford. The "Oxford Movement" was born. It found articulate expression in the "Tracts for the Times". That Movement had a profound and far-reaching influence on the Church in the United States. In 1839 the Tracts were republished in New York where they had an unexpectedly large circulation. They were commended by Samuel Seabury in *The Churchman*, and, we may assume, with the tacit approval of the Bishop. Seabury was not even phased by the issue of Tract XC. On the other hand, *The Gambier Observer*, the organ of Bishop McIlvaine, likened the Tracts to poisoned meat offered for sale in the shambles. The seed of what Dr. James Milnor called "the Oxford heresy" fell on fertile soil in the diocese of New York. Bishop Stewart of Quebec is on record as saying that he had heard more about the Tracts in a three days sojourn in New York than in a year's residence in London.²⁶

It was freely stated that they were recommended to the students of the General Theological Seminary by the bishop who was a member of the faculty, and their readiness to embrace the views set forth therein was regarded by Dr. Milnor as "calculated to give a most dangerous character to the ministry of these future standard-bearers of our church".²⁷

There is ample evidence that the Tractarian teaching appealed most powerfully to Bishop Onderdonk. A goodly part of his 1841 convention address dealt with the Oxford theology as it found expression in the Tracts. After declaring that "the true blessings of the Reformation are to be found not in departure from Rome, but in return to Christ—to the principles, faith, and order of His One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church"²⁸ he added, "So thought the brethren who have been termed 'the 'Oxford Divines'." He went on to say:

²⁵*Convention Journal*, 1843, p. 79.

²⁶Stone, *Memoir of the Life of James Milnor, D. D.*, p. 554.

²⁷*Ibid.*, p. 554.

²⁸*Convention Journal*, 1841, p. 82.

"I know not that there is, either in this country or England, any body of men, I think I may say any individuals, who are the pledged and indiscriminating approvers and advocates of the works of the Oxford Divines, any more than of other human compositions. But that for which there is a loud, imperious, and extensive call among serious and reflecting minds in both branches of the Church, is, that a patient and unbiassed hearing should be given to those good men. There are two great evils to be met, the progress of popery on the one hand, and the false position of its opponents on the other. This is the cause in which the Oxford Divines are enlisted. They would distinguish popery, not from protestantism—for that is a most heterogeneous mass—but from scriptural and primitive catholicity. Here they look for the Christian system in its integrity. They wish not to allow to the Church of Rome the false boast that her popish peculiarities are catholic. They wish to remove from Protestants the miserable and suicidal delusion, that all that is opposed to Rome is therefore true, and to enable them to separate what in the present Romish system is retained of catholic verity from what of papal error is mingled with it."²⁹

He granted that, though in their earnestness, and "in the honest and zealous prosecution of objects so unquestionably good, they may sometimes push their zeal too far, and concede more than in propriety should be conceded", this is only, after all, often the case "with the very best of men". Speaking specifically at the same convention to the laity, he was much less cautious when he proceeded to say:

"I have been pleased to know that the 'Oxford Tracts' have arrested the attention of some of the most intelligent and seriously-minded among you. I would that it were more so. Among their best influences are the *spiritual views* which they give of the Church, and all departments of its service, business, and operations. Let our worthy Laity who, parochially or otherwise, are called into the charge and conduct of any department of ecclesiastical concerns, duly reflect on the views of the Christian Church, its objects, its character, and its operations, which these Tracts afford, and I cannot but think that by the divine blessing on their good sense and moral principles, there will be a happy deliverance from the weight of worldly principles, views, feelings, and operations, which now presses down the Church to a level so secular, and often of so questionable a moral character."³⁰

Such sentiments excited deep resentment in Evangelical circles; the more so as they came from the lips of the bishop of the largest and most influential diocese in the American Church.

²⁹*Convention Journal*, 1841, p 83.

³⁰*Ibid.*, p 85.

In the early Forties dark clouds gathered on the ecclesiastical horizon. The party spirit reared its ugly head to an hitherto unprecedented degree. The Low Church bishops like Meade, McIlvaine, Eastburn, Chase and others, who had been in the ascendancy for several years, became seriously alarmed at the spread of the Oxford Movement of which Onderdonk was regarded as the leader. On the other hand the High Churchmen had the strong support of Samuel Seabury in his caustic editorials in *The Churchman*. Bishop McIlvaine's ire was particularly aroused by a scornful review in that publication of his ponderous book on *The Oxford Divinity* which was characterized as "mere romance; not even founded on fact; incompetent; a perversion of historical truth". McIlvaine was indignant and charged that Bishop Onderdonk was responsible for this and kindred statements which appeared in *The Churchman*.³¹ Under date of March 5, 1841, he wrote:

"It is not merely Dr Seabury who is responsible, but it is his endorser and patron and supervisor, his protector in these things; it is the Bishop of New York who is just so much the more responsible for these expressions and charges, as his influence in giving them weight is greater; and so will be held by the Church as well as by myself".³²

In the light of subsequent events these were ominous words.

The growing feeling against Bishop Onderdonk was accentuated by the famous "Carey" ordination in 1843.

Arthur Carey was a brilliant student of the General Theological Seminary; intellectually gifted; theologically minded; deeply spiritual. He is said to have spent three hours a day in devotional exercises and to have read the New Testament through five times a year.³³

He was profoundly affected by the Oxford Movement which had taken deep root in the Seminary.³⁴

³¹*The Churchman* was announced as "under the General Direction and Supervision of the Bishop of the Diocese of New York of whom it is the official Organ of communication with his diocese". By which was meant that it was used by the bishop for his official announcements and notices of visitations.

³²*The Episcopal Recorder*, March 6, 1841.

³³Arthur Carey was born in London, England, June 26, 1822, and was brought to the United States at the age of eight. For three years he resided in the family of Bishop Hopkins of Vermont, and was confirmed by him. In 1836 he entered Columbia College graduating at the head of his class. When he was just over seventeen he went to the General Theological Seminary and remained there until his ordination as deacon, four years in all. He then became assistant at the Church of the Annunciation, New York, of which the Rev. Dr. Samuel Seabury was rector. Shortly afterwards his health failed and he sailed for Havana with his father. He died on board ship on April 4, 1844, and was buried at sea on Good Friday. (Cf. Seabury Memorial Sermon.)

³⁴Cf. Chorley. "The Seminary and the Oxford Movement". *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, Vol. V., p 183-184; and Walworth. *The Oxford Movement in America, or Glimpses of Life in an Anglican Seminary*. (Walworth, who became a Romanist, was a student with Carey at the Seminary.)

For three years Arthur Carey taught Sunday School in St. Peter's Church, of which the Rev. Dr. Hugh Smith, a Low Churchman, was rector. He was a candidate for holy orders from that parish. His suspicions as to Carey's Romeward bent being aroused, Dr. Smith refused to sign the necessary testimonials, giving as his reason that he could not certify "that you have never written, taught or *held* anything contrary to the doctrine or discipline of the Protestant Episcopal Church"³⁵ and he so notified the bishop. Carey's testimonials were then signed by the rector, wardens and vestrymen of Trinity Parish. He passed with ease all the canonical examinations and was recommended for ordination by the Standing Committee.

Whereupon the Rev. Dr. Hugh Smith of St. Peter's and the Rev. Dr. Henry Anthon, rector of St. Mark's in the Bowery, filed with the bishop a formal protest against the ordination on the ground of disloyalty to the doctrine, discipline and worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Although every canonical requirement had been met, Bishop Onderdonk then summoned a special board of examiners consisting of six of "the worthiest, wisest and most learned presbyters of the diocese" to review the case, and invited the presence of the two clerical protestors. They subjected the candidate to a long and searching examination, consisting, in the main, of hypothetical questions, of which the following is an example:

"Supposing entrance into the ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this country were not open to you, would you, or would you not, have recourse, in such case, to the ministry of the Church of Rome?"³⁶

Other questions embraced the decrees of the Council of Trent; the doctrine of purgatory; prayers for the dead. Carey declared that he did not hold the doctrine of transubstantiation, but added, "I conceive myself at liberty to confess ignorance on the mode of the Presence".³⁷

At the close of the examination the six presbyters expressed the view that there was "no just cause for rejecting the candidate's application for holy orders". The two protestors, on the other hand, jointly held that the results "were altogether unfavorable to Mr. Carey",³⁸ and reserved the right to take further action.

The ordination was appointed for St. Stephen's Church on the morning of Sunday, July 2nd. When the usual challenge to the con-

³⁵*The True Issue for True Churchmen*, p. 12.

³⁶Smith and Anthon. *A Statement of Facts in Relation to the Recent Ordination*, p. 17.

³⁷*Statements of Fact*, p. 36.

³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 25.

gregation was reached, Drs. Smith and Anthon, in full canonicals, stepped into the aisle and read a formal protest against the ordination of Mr. Carey on the stated ground that "he holds things contrary to the doctrine of the Protestant Episcopal Church in these United States, and in close alliance with the errors of the Church³⁹ of Rome". The bishop carried himself with great dignity. Replying to the protest, he said:

"The accusation now brought against one of the persons presented to be ordained deacon has recently been fully investigated by me with the knowledge and in the presence of his accusers, and with the advantage of the valuable aid and counsel of six of the worthiest, wisest and most learned of the presbyters of this diocese, including the three who are assisting in the present solemnities. The result was that there was no just cause for rejecting the candidate's application for holy orders. There is consequently no reason for any change in the solemn service of the day, and therefore all these persons being found meet to be ordained are commended to the prayers of the congregation".⁴⁰

The protesters then withdrew from the church, and the ordination proceeded without further interruption.

Then the storm broke. Drs. Smith and Anthon⁴¹ led the way with a pamphlet entitled "*The True Issue for True Churchmen*", setting forth what they called "A Statement of Facts Relating to the Recent Ordination". They defined "the True Issue" thus: "Shall virtual conformity with Rome form, or not form, an impediment to ordination?"⁴² Another pamphlet by one calling himself "A Churchman", bore the significant title, "*The Progress of Puseyism*". Other pamphlets followed. Dr. Seabury in *The Churchman* rallied to the defense of the bishop in a series of caustic editorials and published "*A Full and True Statement of the Examination and Ordination of Mr. Arthur Carey*".

³⁹Statements of Facts, p 35.

⁴⁰The Churchman, July 8, 1843.

⁴¹Henry Anthon was born in New York City, March 11, 1795; graduated, B. A., Columbia, 1813; prepared for holy orders under Bishop Hobart and was ordered deacon, Sept. 29, 1816, at the age of 21. Ministered at Red Hook on the Hudson River and in neighboring villages for three years; ordained priest by Bishop Hobart, May 27, 1819. In that year he married Emilia Corré. In search of health, two years were spent in South Carolina, returning to New York in 1821. Rector of Trinity Church, Utica, New York, 1822-1829; St. Stephen's Church, New York City, 1829-1831; assistant minister, Trinity Parish, New York City, 1831-1836. From 1836 until his death on January 5, 1861, rector of St. Mark's in the Bowery.

Dr. Anthon had been a warm disciple of Bishop Hobart and had been classed as a High Churchman, but the Carey ordination, following upon some probable uneasiness over the Tractarian movement, precipitated his transfer into the ranks of the Evangelicals.

⁴²Statement of Facts, p 42.

The editors of the *Episcopal Recorder* and the *Southern Churchman* espoused with equal warmth the cause of the protestors, and the controversy extended to the secular press of New York.

The changes were rung on the old war cry: "No Popery". The excitement spread through the whole Church. Other bishops, contrary to all precedent, intervened. Bishop Hopkins of Vermont thought that at the worst Bishop Onderdonk had committed an error of judgment,⁴³ but Philander Chase bluntly declared that "to be in the Church with Romanist sentiments is a crime, and as such should be punished". Writing to Dr. James Milnor of New York, Bishop Meade, of Virginia, (later one of the presenters), said:

"We have fallen upon strange times. We have reached a fearful crisis in the Church. I had not supposed it possible that Romanism had so far regained its power among us, as recent events in your city and the language of some of our religious papers would indicate. . . . I trust our brethren, Anthon and Smith, find strong supporters, not only among the laity, but also among the clergy in your city",⁴⁴

and he added the significant words—significant in the light of impending events—"Our next General Convention can scarcely avoid some agitation on the subject". Dr. Milnor's reply gave cold comfort. He wrote:

"Recent developments here afford reason to believe, that to a greater extent than we had imagined, the Oxford heresy has invaded this diocese. The noxious influence of * * * has exceedingly corrupted the minds of our younger clergy and candidates for orders; and indeed I am grieved to the heart, to find such a tendency to Romanism as prevails among some of the more advanced in years and standing".⁴⁵

Bishop McIlvaine referred at length to the ordination in his charge to the diocese of Ohio in 1843, saying: "I must solemnly protest against the ordination of a candidate exhibiting the like state of mind, being ever again allowed in the Protestant Episcopal Church in these United States".⁴⁶ This part of the charge was referred to a special committee of presbyters and laymen assembled in convention. The committee strongly supported the bishop's stand, declaring that the views held by Mr. Carey were such as "should disqualify any candidate from receiving orders", and adding that the trustees of the General Theological

⁴³Hopkins. *Novelties Which Disturb Our Peace, Fourth Letter*, p 33.

⁴⁴Stone. *Memoir of Dr. Milnor*, p 566-67.

⁴⁵*Memoir of Milnor*, p 571.

⁴⁶McIlvaine. *Charge, 1843*, p 45.

Seminary should "take such measures as may tend to secure the students of that Institution from the taints and corruptions of Romanism, and all other erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God's word".⁴⁷ That one bishop should public censure another bishop, and one diocese should intervene in the affairs of another diocese, was without precedent in the American Church.

At the ensuing convention⁴⁸ of the diocese of New York the bishop referred to the "extraordinary publicity" which had followed the ordination of Mr. Carey, and proceeded to state the reason which had governed his action in the case. He took the position that the challenge in the ordination service is addressed exclusively to the laity, the clergy having other and ample opportunity to express themselves. In this view he was strongly supported by the Rev. Dr. Stephen H. Tyng, who was not only learned in civil and ecclesiastical law, but was also one of the leading Low Churchmen of the day, and former editor of *The Episcopal Recorder*, the most influential organ of that group.⁴⁹

A resolution was offered in the convention alleging that a doubt existed as to the true interpretation of the rubric under which an impediment may be urged against an ordination and requesting the deputies to the General Convention from New York to present a canon which would clear up any ambiguity.⁵⁰ Rightly or wrongly this was regarded as an attack on the bishop. After a notable debate it was defeated by a combined clerical and lay vote of 144 to 55.

The convention closed amid great excitement. Mr. John Duer, a lay delegate, read a statement which he desired should be placed on the minutes. It condemned that part of the bishop's address in which he commended *The Churchman*, expressing dissent therefrom on the ground that "the spirit and tone in which the same is conducted, are such as not to entitle it to the support of Protestant Episcopalians". Acting in his dual capacity as president of the convention and bishop of the diocese, he refused to permit "a paper of this character to come before this house, or to go on the journal of its proceedings", taking the position that the Standing Committee, "are my only rightful advisers, and their counsel I shall always be happy to receive".⁵¹ Referring to this convention Dr. Milnor of St. George's, wrote Benjamin Bosworth Smith, Bishop of Kentucky, saying:

⁴⁷McIlvaine, *Charge*, 1843, p. 47.

⁴⁸*Diocesan Journal*, 1843.

⁴⁹*A Letter Sustaining the Recent Ordination of Mr. Arthur Carey by Stephen H. Tyng, D. D., Rector of the Church of the Epiphany, and lately one of the Editors of the Episcopal Recorder, Philadelphia.*

⁵⁰*Journal of Convention*, 1843, p. 36-37.

⁵¹There is no record of this incident in the *Convention Journal*.

"I confess I am grieved and alarmed beyond measure, and especially since our convention, which has just adjourned, and in which the proceedings in the case of young Carey have been sustained by a large majority of the clergy, and by an unexpectedly large number of the laity".⁵²

So far as the Carey ordination was concerned Bishop Onderdonk was vindicated, but his action was neither forgotten nor forgiven by the Low Churchmen. Henceforth he was marked as a man dangerous to the peace of the Church.

The scene now shifts to the General Convention which met in Philadelphia in 1844. Deeply concerned at the rapid spread of the Tractarian Movement, the Low Churchmen made a concerted effort to secure a specific condemnation of the Oxford theology. A resolution was offered calling attention to the promulgation of "serious errors of doctrine", and requesting the House of Bishops to prepare a clear statement of such doctrines as Justification, the Rule of Faith and of the Sacraments.⁵³ A great debate ensued. Eventually it was determined:

"That the General Convention is not a suitable tribunal for the trial and censure of, and that the Church is not responsible for, the errors of individuals, whether they are members of this Church or otherwise".⁵⁴

It further declared that the Liturgy, Offices, and Articles express her essential doctrines, and the canons afford ample means of discipline and correction for all who depart from her standards. This compromise resolution defeated the purpose of the Low Churchmen.

The convention, however, did two things which paved the way for the trial of Bishop Onderdonk.

While the canons of some dioceses made provision "For the Trial of a Bishop", the first general canon was not adopted till 1841. Owing largely to the fact that it provided no penalty in case of conviction, it was repealed three years later. Canon 3, passed in 1844, made possible the presentment of a bishop by a vote of two-thirds of the clerical and lay delegates of his diocese, or by three bishops. Such presentment might be made for "any crime, or immorality, for heresy, or for violation of the constitution or canons of his diocese or of the general Church".⁵⁵ The penalty might be admonition, suspension, or deposition. Section V also provided that, if before sentence, the accused could show that justice had not been done, the Court might grant a re-hear-

⁵²*Milnor Memoir*, p 572.

⁵³*Journal of General Convention, 1844*, p 30-31.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, p 64-65.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, p 306-308.

ing. It is impossible now to say whether this new canon was adopted to pave the way for the Onderdonk trial, though Dr. Edwin White in his monumental work on the "*Constitution and Canons*" declares that such was one of its objects.⁵⁶ It is, however, a fact that the presentment was made about three weeks after the passage of the canon.

Be that as it may. One other action of the Convention did lead directly to the presentment and trial—a determination to investigate conditions in the General Theological Seminary. For some time past there had been rumors that all was not well with that institution; that it was a hotbed of Tractarianism. Moved largely by the case of Arthur Carey, the diocese of South Carolina, which had been a generous contributor to the Seminary, directed its representatives on the Board of Trustees "to investigate the grounds of the rumors unfavorable to the Institution".⁵⁷

In the discharge of this duty Mr. Trapier found that rumors "about the misconduct of the Right Rev. Professor, were becoming, day by day, more rife, and were spreading among the Laity".⁵⁸ That there were such rumors is unquestionably true. Whether they were the product of idle gossip which grew in volume as it spread from lip to lip, or whether they had a basis in fact, could ultimately only be determined by an impartial and judicial investigation.

Mr. Trapier satisfied himself that such an investigation was, in the best interests of the Church, imperative. After consultation with his colleagues who were deputies to the Convention from South Carolina, the following Memorial was drafted:

"To the Right Reverend the Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.
Rev. Fathers,

The Undersigned members of the Protestant Episcopal Church respectfully represent to you, that many rumors are in circulation among the public, charging unchaste conduct and intemperance against the Right Rev. Benjamin T. Onderdonk, Bishop of the said Church for the diocese of New York.

The undersigned, having separately heard these rumors from various quarters, have been deeply grieved at the scandal they bring upon the Church, and the injury which they inflict upon the General Seminary, in which Bishop Onderdonk is a Professor. They have therefore, regarded it their duty to trace these rumors as far as practicable, and have accordingly been credibly informed that the following persons will either sub-

⁵⁶White. *Constitution and Canons*, p 594.

⁵⁷Trapier. *A Narrative of the Facts which led to the Presentment of the Rt. Rev. B. T. Onderdonk, Bishop of New York*, p 6.

⁵⁸Trapier, p 7.

stantiate, or give the names of those who can testify to, or substantiate, the said charges . . .

Revs. Clement M. Butler of Boston,
Smith Pyne, of Washington, D. C.,
James A. Bolles, of Batavia, New-York,
Lewis P. W. Balch, of New-York,
William Richmond, of New-York,
Peter S. Chauncey, of Rye, New-York,
James C. Richmond, of Rhode Island,
Thomas H. Taylor, of New-york,
Francis L. Hawks, of Mississippi,
P. P. Irving, of New-York.

The undersigned, therefore, respectfully submit the whole matter to the consideration of the House of Bishops, and request that such action may be taken in the premises by them, whether "in their character as visitors of the Seminary, or otherwise, as in their wisdom may seem expedient".

(Signed) Paul Trapier,
Presbyter of the diocese of South
Carolina.
J. P. Gallagher,
Presbyter of the diocese of South
Carolina.
C. G. Memminger,
Lay Deputy from South Carolina,
Henry A. Dubois,
Lay Deputy from South Carolina,
Lewis Morris,
Lay Deputy from South Carolina."⁵⁹

A copy of this communication was sent to Bishop Onderdonk and the Memorial itself was entrusted to Bishop Meade for presentation to the proper authority.

The drama unfolded rapidly. Bishop Meade had intimated to Bishop Onderdonk his intention to bring the matter *informally* before the Bishops and suggested that he should absent himself from the House at the time.⁶⁰ The accused bishop indignantly refused so to do. Later Bishop Meade said "in substance, *You were right*. I will have nothing more to do with the matter".⁶¹ The Presiding Bishop mentioned in the House the receipt of the Memorial, and asked the bishop of New York if he wished to retire. After discussion the Memorial

⁵⁹Trapier, p 15-16.

⁶⁰Onderdonk. *A Statement of Facts and Circumstances Connected with the Recent Trial of the Bishop of New York*, p 5-6.

⁶¹Ibid., p 6.

was returned to the signers unopened, on the ground that a canon for the trial of a bishop having been adopted, the procedure asked by the memorialists was irregular. After its return, Bishop Elliott of Georgia, in conversation with Mr. Trapier said, "that there were bishops who, if the Memorial were returned, would doubtless receive affidavits in proof of Bishop Onderdonk's misconduct", but added that he himself "would by no means consent to hunt up any evidence".⁶²

So matters stood when the General Convention adjourned. The next step, to use Bishop Elliott's phrase, was "to hunt up evidence", and secure affidavits which might form a basis for presentment. Mr. Memminger, a lawyer from South Carolina, and one of the signers of the Memorial, proceeded to New York on this quest. He found an enthusiastic ally in the person of the Rev. James Richmond, a presbyter of Rhode Island, and formerly of New York who recites his efforts in two pamphlets:

1. *The Conspiracy Against The Late Bishop Of New York Unravelled By One Of The Conspirators, Viz: James C. Richmond, Presbyter Of Rhode Island.* (1845).
2. *Mr Richmond's Reply To The "Statement" Of The Late Bishop Of New York.* (1845).

He was notoriously erratic, and was regarded by many, at times, as "crazy". Certainly these pamphlets are the products of an unbalanced mind. He became obsessed with the idea of the bishop's guilt and pursued him relentlessly. The writer of this article has in his possession a manuscript note quoting the widow of an Episcopal clergymen who declared that Mr. Richmond said: "No matter what trouble it cost him, he would tear the mitre from that man's head".

As early as 1843, he wrote his brother, the Rev. William Richmond of New York, saying:

"I can now prove by several competent, trustworthy and undoubted witnesses, that the O.T.B. is and has been *often* and *often* guilty of the grossest indecency. I cannot prove the actual, legal breach of the seventh commandment; but am fully satisfied, beyond all cavil, that if any woman were to be found assenting, this man is guilty. I am satisfied, too, that it is now a matter of notoriety in the female portion of the Diocese, here, there and everywhere. I know no man whom I would watch *so closely, every minute*, in my house. No lady is safe from the

⁶²Trapier, p 17.

grossest, most palpable, and almost open insult.—If he is not admonished, he *must* blow up".⁶³

The next year he writes: "I am going to Philadelphia to overthrow the Bishop of New York."⁶⁴ He scoured New York for evidence and two of the affidavits produced at the trial are in his handwriting. The culmination of his efforts was the following letter addressed

"To the Secretary of the House of Bishops, or the Presiding Bishop.

Right Reverend Fathers,

I accuse the Bishop of New York—hold sworn evidence of his licentious conduct.

When shall we be confronted?

How shall I go on?

Yours in sorrow,

JAMES C. RICHMOND."⁶⁵

Meanwhile, the three bishops, who later signed the presentment, were in New York "receiving and sifting evidence".

During their stay in New York it is stated that they "spent much time in carefully tracing the reports to those with whom they originated, ascertaining precisely what they were prepared to testify, and in satisfying themselves as to the character of the witnesses". They refused to supply Bishop Onderdonk with copies of the affidavits, though they read them to two or three of his friends. As a result of their investigations they determined to present "to their brother bishops the Right Rev. Benjamin T. Onderdonk, pursuant to the canons of General Convention of said Church, in such cases made and provided".⁶⁶ Under date of November 5th, 1844, they notified the bishop of their intention, alleging as their reason for this action "That you may, God helping you, forever put at rest these charges against your moral purity, or else receive humbly the punishment which may be meted out to you in the premises".⁶⁷ They expressed their desire "to bring out the truth and nothing but the truth".

The presentment, signed by Bishops Meade of Virginia, Otey of Tennessee and Stephen Elliott, Jr., of Georgia, was placed in the hands of the Presiding Bishop, Philander Chase of Illinois, who, as directed by the canon, summoned the bishops having jurisdiction in the United

⁶³*Richmond. Conspiracy Unravelled*, p 5.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, p 11.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*

⁶⁶*Johns. Memoir of Bp. Meade*, p 306-307.

⁶⁷*Bp. Onderdonk's Statement*, p 11.

States, to constitute a trial court which met in the Sunday School room of St. John's Chapel, New York City, on December 10, 1844.

On the day appointed the following bishops, who, as having jurisdiction, were eligible to sit as judges, were present:

| | |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Philander Chase, Illinois, | Thomas C. Brownell, Connecticut, |
| Levi S. Ives, North Carolina, | John Henry Hopkins, Vermont, |
| Benjamin B. Smith, Kentucky, | Chas P. McIlvaine, Ohio, |
| George W. Doane, New Jersey, | Leonidas Polk, Louisiana, |
| Wm. H. De Lancey, W. New York, | C. E. Gadsen, South Carolina, |
| Wm. R. Whittingham, Maryland, | Alfred Lee, Delaware, |
| John Johns, Ast Bp Virginia, | Manton Eastburn, Massachusetts, |
| J. P. K. Henshaw, Rhode Island, | Jackson Kemper, Missy Bishop. |
| George W. Freeman, Missy Bishop. | |

Bishops McCoskry of Michigan, Cobbs of Alabama, and Carlton Chase of New Hampshire, were absent. The three presenting bishops were in attendance, but took no part in the proceedings.

Philander Chase, as senior bishop, presided, and Bishop Whittingham served as clerk. Both sides were represented by counsel and evidence was given under oath. The report of the proceedings covers 330 pages.⁶⁸

On the second day the presentment was read, the text being as follows:

"To the Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.

The undersigned, that is to say, the Right Reverend William Meade, Bishop of the said Church in the Diocese of Virginia, the Right Reverend James Hervey Otey, Bishop of the said Church in the Diocese of Tennessee, the Right Reverend Stephen Elliott, jun., Bishop of the said Church in the diocese of Georgia, do hereby, in virtue of the canonical authority reposed in them, present to their brother bishops, the Right Reverend Benjamin Tredwell Onderdonk, Bishop of the said Church in the Diocese of New York, as being guilty of immorality and impurity in the several specifications hereinafter more particularly set forth; and they do solemnly demand a trial of the said Benjamin Tredwell Onderdonk, pursuant to the provisions of the canons of the General Convention of the said Church, in such cases made and provided."⁶⁹

⁶⁸*The Proceedings of the Court Convened under the Third Canon of 1844, in the City of New York, on Tuesday, December 10, 1844, for the Trial of the Right Rev. Benjamin T. Onderdonk, D. D., Bishop of New York; on a Presentment made by the Bishops of Virginia, Tennessee, and Georgia By Authority of the Court. Pp 333.*

⁶⁹*Report of the Trial, pp 5-8.*

To this general charge, and the specifications which were appended, Bishop Onderdonk pleaded "Not Guilty."

The full text of the specifications may be studied in the official report of the trial.

There were nine in all. The second charged that on June 1, 1837, the bishop was "under the influence of, and improperly excited by, vinous or spirituous liquors drunk by him . . . to the scandal and injury of said Church".⁷⁰ The ninth article was general in character, alleging that "at sundry other times he has impurely and unchastely laid his hands upon the bodies of other virtuous and respectable ladies . . . so that he is of evil report within the limits of the said diocese, and in other parts of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America; to the manifest scandal of the Church of Christ, and the disgrace of the office of the said Benjamin T. Onderdonk".⁷¹ By order of the Court this article was stricken out "as not proper for trial, being without reasonable certainty as to time, place, or circumstances" as required by the canon.⁷²

The remaining articles were quite specific. They had a common character viz.: that the bishop had manipulated his hands upon the persons of certain women with an impure intent. There was no suggestion that he proceeded any further. No evidence was offered in one of these cases, and consequently it was not tried. On the third article the bishop was found not guilty;⁷³ the fourth was not tried, the witness refusing to testify. There remained, therefore, for adjudication five specific allegations, all of the characters above described, in addition to the charge of drunkenness.

Concerning these charges there are certain facts to be noted.

1. All the alleged offences dated back to a period before the canon under which the trial was proceeding was adopted. The first and second were in 1837; the third in 1838; fourth in 1839; the fifth and sixth in 1841. No offence of any kind was charged after July, 1842. In the Court itself a motion was offered which read:

"Ordered, That in proceeding to investigate the charges in so much of the Presentment as relates to transactions alleged to have transpired anterior to the date of three years prior to the date of the Presentment, the Court do so with the protest—that such charges (said charges being for immoralities, and not for any offences made criminal by the laws of the land) are

⁷⁰*Report of the Trial*, p 6.

⁷¹*Ibid.*, p 8.

⁷²*Ibid.*, p 8.

⁷³*Ibid.*, p 257.

brought forward contrary to the spirit of our canons, which require, in all cases of moral character, testimonials for the three preceding years only".⁷⁴

The motion was defeated by a vote of 11 to 6.

2. Each of the charges was sustained by only one witness. The testimony of the other witnesses in each case was based on hearsay, and therefore of no legal value. In the case regarded as most serious the husband swore in an affidavit to an act of the bishop, while his wife declared under oath that no such thing happened.

3. The circumstances under which these alleged acts took place rendered them in the highest degree improbable—two of them in an open carriage with the husband and the driver on the front seat; two of them in broad daylight; one in a room with an open door and people standing in the adjacent hall.

4. In all these cases, long after these things were said to have transpired, the bishop was received as a guest in the homes of those who had testified to impure advances. They treated him as though nothing untoward had happened.

The case closed with the addresses of Counsel. On January 2, 1845, judgment was rendered; the vote being taken separately on each specification. The following is the official record of the vote:

GUILTY. Chase, Illinois; Brownell, Connecticut; Hopkins, Vermont; B. B. Smith, Kentucky; McIlvaine, Ohio; Polk, Louisiana; Alfred Lee, Delaware; Johns, Ast. Bp. Virginia; Eastburn, Massachusetts; Henshaw, Rhode Island; Freeman, Missionary Bishop.

NOT GUILTY. Ives, North Carolina; G. W. Doane, New Jersey; Kemper, Missionary Bishop; De Lancey, Western New York; Gadsen, South Carolina;⁷⁵ Whittingham, Maryland.

The Respondent therefore stood convicted by a vote of eleven to six.

The individual judgment of the bishops are on record. Of those who rendered a verdict of "guilty", the longest and weightiest opinion was that of Bishop Hopkins of Vermont; a lawyer by training and a High Churchman to boot, although he had not approved of the Carey ordination. Apparently he was influenced by the character of the witnesses, saying:

⁷⁴*Report of Proceedings*, p. 9.

⁷⁵On the second charge Bishop Gadsen voted "Guilty of one instance of improper excitement by vinous or spirituous liquors, but not of drunkenness."

"Never, in the course of many years experience, have I seen such a body of witnesses. Clergymen of unspotted reputation, their wives exemplary and blameless, communicants active and zealous of good works—such are the persons, on whose solemn oaths we have decided this afflicting issue. And I do not hesitate to say, that if I could admit a single doubt of the substantial correctness of their evidence, I should be compelled to abandon all faith in human testimony".⁷⁶

On the other hand, in his long judgment, Bishop Doane of New Jersey based his verdict of "not guilty" on the apostolic injunction, "Against an elder receive not an accusation but before two or three witnesses". Bishop Jackson Kemper took a like stand, and after a searching analysis of the evidence Bishop Whittingham found the charges to be alike improbable and unproved, as did also Bishop Ives of North Carolina.

The judgement of the majority of the Court, signed by the assentors, read as follows:

"The undersigned, being a majority of the Court of Bishops, convened under the authority of the 3rd Canon of A. D. 1844, passed in the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, to try the Presentment addressed to the Bishops of the said Church by the Right Reverend William Meade, Bishop of the Diocese of Virginia, the Right Reverend James Hervey Otey, Bishop of the Diocese of Tennessee, and the Right Reverend Stephen Elliott, jun., Bishop of the Diocese of Georgia, against the Right Reverend Benjamin Tredwell Onderdonk, Bishop of the Diocese of New York—do hereby declare that the said Court, having fully heard the allegations and testimony of the parties, and deliberately considered the same, after the parties had withdrawn, did declare respectively, whether, in their opinion, the accused was guilty or not guilty of the charges and specifications contained in the Presentment, in the order in which they are set forth; and the undersigned, being a majority of the said Court, were thereupon found to have concurred in pronouncing that the said Benjamin Tredwell Onderdonk is guilty of the first, the second, the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth articles, containing the charges and specifications therein expressed of the said Presentment, as by reference to the same will more fully appear; and do, therefore, declare him guilty of immorality and impurity, as the same is charged in the Presentment, and set forth in said specifications.

⁷⁶*Proceedings of the Court*, p 282.

In testimony whereof, the said majority have hereunto set their hands, at the session of the Court, holden in the city of New York, on the 2nd day of January. A. D. 1845.

PHIL. CHASE,

Bishop of Illinois, and Sen. Bishop and President of the Court.

THOS. C. BROWNELL,

Bishop of the Diocese of Connecticut.

JOHN H. HOPKINS,

Bishop of the Diocese of Vermont.

B. B. SMITH,

Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Kentucky.

CHAS. P. M'ILVAINE,

Bishop of the Protest Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Ohio.

LEONIDAS POLK,

Bishop of the Diocese of Louisiana.

ALFRED LEE,

Bishop of the Diocese of Delaware.

JOHN JOHNS,

Assistant Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia.

MANTON EASTBURN,

Bishop of the Diocese of Massachusetts.

GEO. W. FREEMAN,

Missionary Bishop for Arkansas, &c.⁷⁷

The President then announced to the Respondent the judgment of the Court.

It then became the right of the bishop to address the Court "in excuse or palliation of the sentence to be passed". The first part may be paraphrased; the second must be quoted in full, for he was fighting with his back to the wall for that which is dearer than life itself.

Declaring that human courts "can take cognizance only of outward actions", and that "it is the intention which constitutes the guilt", he went on to say "I hereby protest, before this Court, and before Almighty God, my entire innocence of all impure or unchaste intention". He urged that the acts charged against him were "too few in number to constitute habitual impurity", and moreover, they were "remote in time". He added:

"And though my conscience does not upbraid me with impurity in the acts alleged, (the most of which I heard for the first time, in October last, as alleged to my discredit), yet have I long lived in a state of repentance for all my sins known and

⁷⁷*Report of the Proceedings*, p 258-9.

unknown, and habitually sought forgiveness for them from the mercy of God, for the sake of his Son Jesus Christ."⁷⁸

He reminded his judges that there was no appeal from their decision. "The sentence you will pronounce, Rt. Rev. Brethren, will be reconsidered by no other Court in the Church, but is at once the first and the last which the existing laws of the Church provide".⁷⁹

Then, with a pathos which would have moved a heart of stone, he made his final plea for that mercy which drops as the gentle dew from heaven, saying:

"This much, Rt. Rev. Fathers and Brethren, I have thought that I might say, consistently with Christian humility, and due respect for the decision of a majority of your Court. To enter into a consideration of the evidence on which this decision is founded, and of the influences which in my humble, though perhaps too partial judgement, would be neither respectful to you, nor consistent with the canonical privilege which is now awarded to me. On these points, therefore, I am *at present silent*, as in duty bound, and am content to wait with meekness the sentence which you are about to pronounce. That I look forward to this sentence with deep anxiety, I do not affect to disguise. But believe me, Rt. Rev. Fathers and Brethren, my anxiety is not solely for myself; but also for the Church, and for this Court. As respects me, your decision is final for this world, and your power supreme. But, brethren, solemnly protesting as I have protested, and do now protest, before Almighty God and this Court, my entire innocence of all impurity, in chasteness, or immorality, in the acts laid to my charge, and confiding, as I firmly do, in the justice of Almighty God, and the honest judgement of his Church, I of course believe that an unjust sentence of this Court will neither be ratified in Heaven, nor sustained on earth, after the light of reason and truth shall have dispelled, as it surely will dispel, the mists of prejudice and passion. That the sentence which my right reverend brethren are now to pronounce on the most unworthy of their number may not alienate from our body the confidence of the Church, and plunge her into irretrievable distraction, may God, of his infinite mercy, grant through Jesus Christ".⁸⁰

There then remained but the determination of the sentence to be imposed, and that proved to be a difficult task, especially for the six bishops who had returned a verdict of "not guilty". Their duty was

⁷⁸*Report of Proceedings*, p 260.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, p 261.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, p 261.

clearly defined by the Canon. They had to award a penalty on one whom they regarded as innocent.

Under the Canon the sentence might be: admonition, suspension or deposition.

Three votes were taken before a decision was reached. The first was as follows:

Admonition: Ives, Doane, Kemper, De Lancey, Gadsen, Whittingham.

Suspension: Brownell, B. B. Smith, Freeman.

Deposition: Chase, Hopkins, McIlvaine, Polk, Lee, Eastburn, Henshaw.

Bishops Ives, George Washington Doane and Whittingham voted for "as slight an admonition as the Canon will admit".⁸¹

On the second vote, Bishop Smith "under the conviction that the effect of conviction must be forever to destroy the usefulness of the Respondent", acceded to "Deposition". On the other hand, Bishops Lee and Eastburn switched to "Suspension". Most significant, however, Bishops Gadsen and Whittingham, who were convinced of Onderdonk's innocence, voted for "Suspension", the latter declaring: "My sentence is for *admonition*, but perceiving that there is no hope of securing a majority of votes for that, I accede to the sentence of *suspension*".⁸² The result of the second vote was: for admonition 4; suspension 6; deposition 7.

By that time it was clear to Bishop Onderdonk's friends on the Court that, to use Bishop Ives' phrase, "suspension was necessary to ward off deposition",⁸³ and they so voted on the third ballot. The final count was:

Deposition: Chase, Hopkins, Smith, McIlvaine, Polk, Lee, Johns.

Suspension: Brownell, Ives, Doane, Kemper, Gadsen, Whittingham, Henshaw, Freeman.

Bishop Onderdonk, therefore, was suspended by the narrow margin of one vote. The suspension was indefinite, there being no time limit. High legal authorities regarded indefinite suspension as illegal. In a carefully drawn report the Standing Committee of the diocese of New York said:

⁸¹*Report of Proceedings*, p 332.

⁸²*Ibid.*, p 333.

⁸³*Ibid.*, p 333.

"In the present instance, the suspension is without any express declaration, whether it be limited or contingent upon any future action, either of the party under the sentence, or of others.

High legal opinions, supported by learning and reasoning, have resulted in the conclusion, that a sentence of suspension, thus indefinite, is in itself void and inoperative, or expires on the adjournment of the court".⁸⁴

That this position was sound is evidenced by the fact that the General Convention of 1847 adopted a canon providing that:

"Whenever the penalty of suspension shall be inflicted on a Bishop, Priest or Deacon, in this Church, the sentence shall specify on what terms or conditions, and at what time the penalty shall cease".⁸⁵

Clearly the Church had come to recognize that a sentence of indefinite suspension, such as was imposed on the bishop of New York, was neither just nor equitable.

The sentence was pronounced by the Presiding Bishop, Philander Chase. It concluded with these words—the italics as in the official report of the proceedings—:

"It is hereby *ordered* and *declared*, that the sentence of this Court upon the Respondent is *suspension* from the office of a Bishop in the Church of God, and from all the functions of the sacred ministry—and this Court do hereby solemnly *pronounce* and *declare* that the Right Rev. Benjamin Tredwell Onderdonk is suspended from all the exercise of his Episcopal and ministerial functions—and do order that the notice of this sentence required by said Canon be communicated by the Presiding Bishop, under his hand and seal, to the Ecclesiastical authority of every Diocese of this Church.

PHILANDER CHASE,

Senior Bishop, and President of the Court of Bishops".⁸⁶

In view of the delicate character of some of the testimony it is extraordinary that the Court specifically ordered the publication of the complete record of the Proceedings, including the securing of the copyright.⁸⁷

So it was that, wounded in the house of his friends, Bishop Onderdonk turned to the shelter of his home in New York, seldom leav-

⁸⁴*Report of the Standing Committee of the Diocese of New York*, p 6.

⁸⁵*Gen. Con. Journal*, 1847, p 63.

⁸⁶*Report of Proceedings*, p 330.

⁸⁷*Ibid*, p 330.

ing it save to attend the daily services of the Church. His sun went down while it was yet day.

As might be expected, the trial and sentence created a profound sensation throughout the length and breadth of the country. Pamphlets flew thick and fast. Whispers separated chief friends. The editors of the Church papers dipped their pens in vitriol. *The Episcopal Recorder* of Philadelphia called down the fires of heaven on *The Churchman* in New York, while the secular papers, revelling in the scandal, added fuel to the flames. Samuel Seabury, preaching in the Church of the Annunciation (the church attended by Bishop Onderdonk), on the Sunday after the sentence, while he counselled obedience to the judgement, solemnly asserted his belief in the bishop's innocence, characterizing the sentence as "utterly unjust", deserving "not the weight of a feather".⁸⁸

On January 8, 1845, the Presiding Bishop, in accordance with the canon, officially notified the Standing Committee of the diocese of New York of the sentence of the court.

Although technically and canonically not authorized so to do, the Standing Committee of the diocese proceeded, in the emergency, to function as the Ecclesiastical Authority. Acting as such it issued and accepted letters dimissory: passed on candidates for holy orders, and invited certain bishops to visit the diocese for confirmations, ordinations and consecration of churches, among them being the bishops of New Jersey, Connecticut and Western New York. They declined to act, taking the ground that the exigency had not arisen when, under the canons and Constitution, the Standing Committee could properly function as the Ecclesiastical Authority.⁸⁹ On the other hand, Bishop Lee of Delaware, did so recognize it, as did later Bishops Carlton Chase of New Hampshire and McCoskry of Michigan.

So matters stood until the regular meeting of the diocesan convention which convened in New York on September 24, 1845, and continued in session until the 30th.⁹⁰

The diocese found itself in an unprecedented position. Its bishop was "suspended from all exercise of his episcopal and ministerial functions", but was still bishop of the diocese, and as long as he remained such, no other diocesan could be elected in his place.

What to do under these circumstances was the problem the convention had to face. No time was lost. A resolution was presented

⁸⁸Seabury. *Sermon in Church of the Annunciation*, p 5-6.

⁸⁹*Journal of Convention, 1845*, p 45-51.

⁹⁰*Records of the Proceedings and Debates at the Sixty-first Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of New York, Commencing on Wednesday morning, September 24th, and Ending on Tuesday, P. M., September 30th, by Robert A. West.*

voicing the conviction, that even if the bishop were restored, he could "never perform the Episcopal functions in this diocese with any prospect of usefulness to the Church".⁹¹

The whole matter was referred to a special committee of ten presbyters and ten laymen and of which the Hon. J. C. Spencer of Albany was chairman. Two reports were presented. The majority report, signed by fourteen members, took the basic position that Bishop Onderdonk, though suspended, was "in fact the law bishop of this diocese, so that no bishop could be ordained in his place".⁹² It further recommended that the General Convention should be asked to come to the relief of the diocese by the adoption of a canon providing for the election of an assistant bishop "with full episcopal authority in himself, and in no way dependent on the Bishop during his suspension".⁹³ In the mean time the Standing Committee would continue to be the Ecclesiastical Authority.

The minority report, bearing six signatures, found its members unwilling to affirm that Dr. Onderdonk "is the existent bishop of this Diocese", neither could they approve of taking any steps for the election of an assistant bishop. They expressed the belief that "the *voluntary resignation*" of the Bishop was the most dignified solution of the problem, and offered the following resolution:

"Resolved, That this Convention, with bitter sorrow for the exigency which renders necessary the expression of such convictions, and in full recognition of the independent responsibility of the bishop, for any course of action he may see fit to adopt, do hereby express their solemn belief, that the effect of the trial and sentence of the Right Rev. Bishop Onderdonk, has been, is, and will continue to be, such as to render injurious to the Church in this diocese, any resumption of the office of its bishop, and the sacred functions thereto pertaining, under any future probable condition of the removal of the sentence, or his own personal contrition and devout life".⁹⁴

Two points of view found heated expression. There were those who believed that Onderdonk, though suspended, was still bishop of New York, and hoped for his restoration. And there were those who contended that the diocese was vacant and the convention could, if it were so disposed, proceed at once to fill the vacancy. The latter argued that a sentence of indefinite suspension automatically voided jurisdiction.⁹⁵ This argument was based upon the fact that at the General Con-

⁹¹*Convention Journal*, 1845, p 19.

⁹²*Ibid.*, p 69.

⁹³*Ibid.*, p 71.

⁹⁴*do.*, p 73.

⁹⁵*Debates &c.*, p 33.

vention of 1844 (before the trial and sentence) the House of Bishops had adopted a canon "*Of the Effect of Suspension from the Ministry upon Jurisdiction*", the first section of which said in part: "Any Bishop, Priest or Deacon, who shall incur the penalty of indefinite suspension from the exercise of the Ministry by the proper authority, shall be thereby held incapable of jurisdiction".⁹⁶ When, however, this section was sent down to the House of Deputies, that House struck out these words, and returned it to the House of Bishops so amended. By the irony of fate Bishop Onderdonk moved to non-concur with the Deputies and called for a committee of conference. It proved of no avail. The Bishops felt that they could not meet the objections of the Deputies "without destroying its essential character".⁹⁷ The proposed canon therefore failed of adoption.

It was, however, argued by Dr. Tyng in the diocesan convention that though the canon was not adopted, it shewed the mind of the bishops who a few weeks later pronounced a sentence of indefinite suspension. "I have", declared Dr. Tyng, "the testimony of the action of the House of Bishops, that the sentence of indefinite suspension was to declare the diocese vacant".⁹⁸ He was answered by the Rev. Dr. Francis Vinton who pointed out that inasmuch as the canon was not approved by the House of Deputies, it was not the law of the Church, nor had it been at the time Bishop Onderdonk was suspended. At best, it was an expression of opinion without the force of law. As Dr. Vinton said: "The opinion which they (the bishops) have expressed in the proposed canon is *what they would have wished* our law to be, *not* what our law *actually* is".⁹⁹

Within the necessary limits of this article it is quite impossible to follow the five days debate in detail. A motion was offered by the Rev. Dr. J. Mayhew Wainwright (afterwards first provisional bishop) "That the whole question of the relation of Bishop B. T. Onderdonk to this diocese be referred to the decision of the General Convention".¹⁰⁰ Dr. Wainwright "took occasion to pay tribute to the spirit of Christian submission which the bishop had evinced under the sentence which had been imposed upon him". The vote on this resolution was taken by Orders. The clerical vote was 44 for; 68 against; in the lay order there were 55 ayes; 46 noes.¹⁰¹ It was therefore defeated by a non-concurrence of orders.

Sunday intervened, and the convention reassembled in a calmer

⁹⁶*Journal of General Convention, 1844, p 141.*

⁹⁷*Ibid, p 160.*

⁹⁸*Debates, &c., p 36.*

⁹⁹*Ibid, p 47.*

¹⁰⁰*Journal of Convention, p 90.*

¹⁰¹*Ibid, p 91-94.*

frame of mind. Mutual concessions were made. The resolution to request the General Convention to make possible the election of an assistant bishop was withdrawn, and the Standing Committee was authorized to act as the Ecclesiastical Authority in the case of "the inability or disability of the Bishop".

The convention brought its long and arduous labors to a close by "warmly commending each the other to the common blessings of the great Head of the Church, and the now afflicted diocese to the united prayers of all its members, on all the appointed holy-days of the Church".¹⁰²

We now turn to the involved recital of the efforts made for the remission of the sentence and restoration of jurisdiction. They covered a period of fourteen or fifteen years.

The first move was made by the bishop himself. Under date of October 6, 1847, he addressed a letter to the bishops of the Church asking that they "would open the way for his relief from the operation of the sentence of suspension from the ministry".¹⁰³ It was a touching letter, free from the slightest taint of bitterness; marked by penitence and humility. In the course of the communication he said:

"In a state of almost entire seclusion from the world, I have earnestly endeavored, in reliance on the Holy Ghost, and with constant prayer for His influence, to keep a perpetual guard over my heart, to detect its evil tendencies, to discover, for greater future watchfulness, wherein these have led me astray, and to cultivate the spirit of humble penitence, meek submission, and evangelical faith, devotion, and charity".¹⁰⁴

There is no record of any answer to this letter. It was therefore followed by a Memorial "*to the Bishops, the Clergy, and the Laity . . . in General Convention assembled*". In that document he carefully abstained from passing censure on the members of the Court, contenting himself with challenging the validity of a suspension without limit of time.

This Memorial was read in the House of Bishops and referred to a committee of five, four of whom had pronounced him "guilty" at the trial. In due course, the committee reported unfavorably. Remarking "that he does not stand in the position of a penitent", they added; "so far from this is the fact that he has chosen, in his Memorial, to be an accuser of the law, the court, and of the witnesses".¹⁰⁵ There is, however, not a single sentence in the Memorial which justifies such a state-

¹⁰²*Debates, &c.*, p.

¹⁰³*Obsequies & Obituary Notices*, p 96.

¹⁰⁴*Ibid.*, pp 96-97.

¹⁰⁵*Ibid.*, p 100.

ment. It was also urged in the report that the bishop had not challenged the legality of the sentence at the time; neither had he applied for a review in the shape of a new trial. The general adamant attitude of the committee is indicated in the closing sentence:

"But while your Committee sustain the proposition, that the remission of the sentence is a possible event, in contemplation of law, they deem it but justice to the Memorialist, and to the Diocese of New York, to add, that they consider the probability of its occurrence so slender and remote, as scarcely to afford a reasonable basis for future action".¹⁰⁶

Permission was then given to withdraw the Memorial.

At the diocesan convention of 1849 the Rev. Dr. Whitehouse offered a resolution "earnestly and affectionately" advising the bishop to resign his jurisdiction. It was defeated by a combined vote of 168 to 74. Acting under the specific instructions of the convention, the Standing Committee addressed a prayer to the House of Bishops "for relief from the sufferings consequent on the sentence of the Episcopal Court", and to declare "an early day when the penalty shall cease, and be of no further force or effect".¹⁰⁷

The petition was considered by the bishops in Council, with the result that the petitioners were granted leave to withdraw their memorial. The unbending attitude towards the bishop himself was expressed in these words:

"No mere lapse of time can transform guilt into innocence, nor make him worthy to exercise the office of a Bishop in the Church of God, who by the solemn sentence of its highest tribunal, has once declared to be unworthy".¹⁰⁸

Once more the petitioners "were granted leave to withdraw their Memorial."

One important step, however, was taken. The General Convention adopted a new canon reading as follows:

"A Diocese deprived of the services of its Bishop by a sentence of suspension without a precise limitation of time, may proceed to the election of a Provisional Bishop, who, when duly consecrated, shall exercise all the powers, and authority of the Bishop of the Diocese during the suspension of such Bishop, and who in case of the remission of the sentence of the Bishop; and his restoration to the exercise of his jurisdiction, shall per-

¹⁰⁶*Obsequies and Obituary Notices*, p 110.

¹⁰⁷*Cf. Memorial of Standing Committee.*

¹⁰⁸*Obsequies, &c.*, p 119.

form the Duties of Assistant Bishop prescribed by Canon VI. of 1832, and who in all cases shall succeed to the Bishop, on his death or resignation".¹⁰⁹

Acting under this canon the Rev. Dr. J. Mayhew Wainwright was elected Provisional Bishop of New York in 1852. At his death, two years later, the Rev. Horatio Potter was elected as his successor, and served as such until the death of Bishop Onderdonk. Thus the needs of the diocese were met in part, but no relief was afforded to the suspended bishop.

In 1853 a layman of the diocese of New York sought the opinion of counsel with a view to appealing to the civil courts to test the validity of the sentence imposed on Bishop Onderdonk. Counsel advised that such a suit would be successful and he was supported in this opinion by such eminent lawyers as Chief Justice Jones of New York and Horace Binney of Philadelphia. When the suggestion was made to the bishop he declined to be a party to the proceeding. He foresaw the unpleasant publicity which would result to the hurt of the Church. He had, he wrote, an "irresistible repugnance to bringing ecclesiastical matters before civil courts . . . and to the idea of being drawn before the public in a new, and, to me, particularly distasteful way".¹¹⁰

Five years passed. In 1858 it occurred to the Rev. Francis Lister Hawks (who had not been regarded as very friendly to the bishop), that restoration might be both desirable and possible. After consultation with others in the diocese, Dr. Hawks drafted a Memorial to be sent by Bishop Onderdonk to the House of Bishops which was to meet in General Convention the following year.

This renewed plea was remarkable for its spirit of humility and contrition. He wrote:

"I am not exempt from human infirmity, and, in the calmer reflections to which the lapse of time has contributed, I acknowledge that I cannot but believe parts of my conduct to have betrayed indiscretion, and that my demeanor must, in some instances, have been calculated to produce impressions injurious alike to the Church and myself, however such effect may have been unintended and unperceived on my part. I say that I cannot but believe this, because some of my fellow Christians, and, among them, some of yourselves, brethren, felt bound to this extent to condemn me. I beg you, however, to believe me, when I most solemnly declare, that; in this matter, I was not the slave of deliberate impurity of intention".¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹*General Convention Journal*, 1850, p 57.

¹¹⁰*Obsequies, &c.*, p 121-125.

¹¹¹*Ibid.*, p 127.

And, he added:

"Be my offenses small or great, to whatever extent, brethren, I have brought reproach on the cause of our Master, or given just offence to any of my fellow-Christians, even without a purposed intention of wickedness, I am, without reference to your action on this request, heartily sorry, and desire to humble myself in penitence before God and man. I can say truly, and I thank God for it, as I now do, without any reference to man or his doings, that I have long endeavored to live in a state of habitual repentance for all my sins, known and unknown, and have daily sought forgiveness for them, from the mercy of God, for the sake of His Son Jesus Christ".¹¹²

He asserted with truth that "Those who have known me will, I humbly trust, bear me witness, that ever since the sentence has been imposed, my life has been quiet, my doings unobtrusive, and my conduct, as a member of Christ's Church, not liable to reproach".¹¹³ So, he pleaded for the exercise of that mercy which blesses him that gives, and him that takes.

It was generally recognized, and not least by the bishop, that in the event of his restoration delicate problems concerning his relation to the diocese and to the provisional bishop would call for adjustment, especially as, under the canon, Bishop Horatio Potter would revert to the position of assistant bishop, and as such, would have to act under the direction of the diocesan. To meet this situation, and by the advice of his friends, Bishop Onderdonk prepared a letter to be placed in the hands of Bishop Potter when the House of Bishops had acted favorably upon the plea for the remission of the sentence. In the course of the letter he said: "I therefore lose no time in assigning to you . . . the entire possession of the *administrative* portion of Episcopal duty in the diocese; to act precisely as you have been acting. . . . For myself", he added, "I propose only the performance of such Episcopal duties as on our mutual conference may be deemed expedient".¹¹⁴

Satisfied with this provision, the petition for re-instatement was signed by such Low Church presbyters as Dr. Stephen H. Tyng, Dr. Henry Anthon (who afterwards withdrew his name) and Dr. Benjamin C. Cutler of Brooklyn. Unfortunately, the provisional bishop, acting from a stern sense of duty, could not sanction what appeared to him "to be in the nature of a private bargain", and the memorial was for the moment withheld.

¹¹²*Obsequies, &c.*, p 127.

¹¹³*Ibid*, p 128.

¹¹⁴The full text of this Letter may be found in the *Journal of the Convention*, 1859, p 275-276.

At this point the diocesan convention met. During the sessions the Rev. Dr. Francis Vinton offered a resolution requesting the House of Bishops to remit the sentence, or so to modify it as to fix a time when it should cease.¹¹⁵ A motion to lay this on the table was lost by a combined vote of 208 to 85. After prolonged discussion the following resolution was adopted by a vote of 222 to 65:

*Resolved, That the Remission of the Sentence of the Right Rev. Bishop Onderdonk would be acceptable to this Convention on the condition, that the restrictions upon the exercise of Episcopal powers and offices within this Diocese, set forth in his letter to the Rt. Rev. Bishop H. Potter, laid before the Convention and a copy of which is hereto appended, be annexed to the same; or such restrictions relating to the exercise of such powers as the House of Bishops deem proper".*¹¹⁶

The resolution was officially presented to the House of Bishops assembled in the General Convention of 1859 at Richmond, Virginia, and was considered in a secret session. A few days later a vote was taken on a motion made by Bishop McCoskry of Michigan "That the sentence should be altogether remitted and terminated". It was defeated by a vote of 26 to 8, the following bishops voting for it: Kemper, Otey, McCoskry, De Lancey, Whittingham, Carlton Chase, Rutledge, Odenheimer.¹¹⁷

It will be noted that Otey, who was one of the presenting bishops in 1844, now voted for the remission of the sentence. An effort made by Bishop Whitehouse, who had succeeded Philander Chase in Illinois, to permit Bishop Onderdonk to perform Episcopal acts at the request of any bishop, but still depriving him of jurisdiction and of a seat in the House of Bishops, failed.¹¹⁸ Bishop De Lancey then moved for the remission of the sentence on condition that Bishop Onderdonk place a full resignation of his jurisdiction in the hands of the Presiding Bishop.¹¹⁹ When this was communicated to the Bishop of New York he replied: "I *dare not*—no matter *what the considerations*—have recourse to an expedient which I consider *so wrong* as resignation".¹²⁰ Obviously, such a step would have been interpreted as an admission of the guilt he had denied for fourteen years.

In an endeavor to unravel the tangle the House of Deputies adopted

¹¹⁵*Journal of Convention, 1859, p 75.*

¹¹⁶*Convention Debates, p 144.*

¹¹⁷*Obsequies, &c., p 145.*

¹¹⁸*Ibid, p 146.*

¹¹⁹*do, p 146-147.*

¹²⁰*do, p 147.*

an amendment to the canon which would have permitted the Bishops to remit a sentence "in part". They refused to concur in the amendment, giving as their reason that there was no "*sufficient cause, at this late period of the session, for its passage*".¹²¹ The usual procedure in a case of non-concurrence between the two Houses would have been a committee of conference, but the House of Deputies, by an inadvertence, was not notified of the action of the Bishops until it was too late for conference. Bishop McIlvaine then moved to lay the Memorial on the table which was carried by a vote of 19 to 12.

So passed the last opportunity for restoration. Before another General Convention Bishop Onderdonk had fallen on sleep.

During his long years of retirement, while he affirmed his innocence, no word of bitterness against either his accusers or his judges ever passed his lips. As far as possible, he withdrew from the public gaze. Writing of him in those days the *Church Journal* said:

"He secluded himself entirely from all appearance in the public eye, unless the anonymous use of his pen in *The Churchman* and the *Churchman's Monthly* be excepted—an employment in every way congenial to his habits and suitable to his retired position—no hint of his authorship being given, except occasionally the modest appearance of his initials at the lower corner, and in later years, not even that. His life has been spent, during these long and lonely years, in his library, with his pen and his books. Resisting the entreaties of all his friends, he has gone abroad nowithers except to the House of God, which has been his *daily* resort. Until his infirmities increased too much upon him, he might be met daily in all weathers, avoiding the main thoroughfares of the city, but wending his way through the quieter streets to the Church of the Annunciation, there to kneel with the few that know how to prize at its true worth the privilege of daily Prayer. Often we have thus met him on his churchward way, walking with a downcast look, as if unwilling to attract attention, and saluting only those who spoke to him first; but then the salute was returned by him with a genial warmth, tinged with sadness, which went at once to the heart".¹²²

Throughout the long years he had cherished the hope of restoration to the work of the Christian ministry, and when that hope finally failed, the outward man decayed rapidly, and he himself realized that the end was not far distant.

On Friday, April 26, the Rev. Dr. Francis Vinton visited him as he lay on a sick bed, very weak in body but mentally alert. Dr. Vinton

¹²¹*Journal of General Convention, 1859, p 218.*

¹²²*Church Journal, May 1, 1861.*

used the Office for the Visitation of the Sick, and he thus describes the scene:

"Among the questions to be asked in the Examination of the Sick, are these, 'Do you repent you truly of your sins'? 'Are you in charity with the world'? The Bishop closed his eyes while he spoke of himself as a sinner, both in thought, word, and deed; saying that 'in his most earnest endeavors to live for Christ and the Church, as well as in exercising himself to have a conscience void of offence towards God and towards man, he saw infirmity and pollution'—then, opening his eyes, he added, 'But the holiest man, equally with the most sinful, finds, in the hour of death, that every hope on which he relies for salvation is dispersed, but ONE—all but ONE, *our Saviour JESUS CHRIST—HE is the Rock of Ages*'. Then, looking me in the face, the Bishop said with solemn earnestness, '*Of all the crimes of which I have been accused and for which I have been condemned, my conscience acquits me, in the sight of God.*'"¹²³

It seems inconceivable that such a man, knowing that the time of his departure was at hand and that he was about to stand in the august presence of Him unto whom all hearts are open, and from whom no secrets are hid, should make such a statement if he were really guilty.

On the following Sunday, at his own request, the Rev. Dr. Seabury administered to him the comfortable sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ. It is on record that "He received the Holy Mysteries with his accustomed evidences of earnest penitence and deep humility; of lively faith, of fervent charity, and of sincere and unreserved forgiveness as he hoped to be forgiven".¹²⁴

He died on Tuesday morning, April 30, 1861, committing himself to that God who

"Watches the rolling hours
With other and larger eyes than ours,
To make allowance for us all."

The *New York Express* of May 8 gave this account of the funeral:

"Few more suggestive spectacles have ever been witnessed in New York than that of yesterday when the funeral solemnities of Bishop Onderdonk were celebrated in Trinity Church, by the clergy and people of what had once been his diocese. The immense concourse that crowded to pay respect to his

¹²³The capitals and italics are as in Dr. Vinton's letter as printed in *Obsequies, &c.*, p. 190.

¹²⁴*Obsequies, &c.*, p. 189.

memory, that filled the church and overflowed into the churchyard, and into the public streets, the long procession of priests and deacons who joined in the solemn services which he whom they commemorated had so often led, contained a signal though tardy tribute to the character of the deceased prelate. Tardy indeed, for many of the men who participated in those services had contributed to degrade their Bishop—had volunteered to bring a reproach upon him and the branch of the Church of Christ of which he was the head; though now repentant in spirit, they united with his life-long friends in exculpating his memory. When the form of the venerable man was brought into that church of which he had formerly been the Minister, and deposited in the chancel where he had once been used to celebrate the highest and holiest rites of religion, but which, of late, he might not enter save as a recipient instead of a ministrant; when he who has held and still holds the place of the injured Bishop appeared as chief mourner, and the people who had been deprived of their Father in God, were allowed to see him before the altar, it is true, but laid low in death—it was impossible to forget much that many would wish forgotten."

As an illustration of the attitude of the secular press the *Express* added:

"If Bishop Onderdonk was really worthy of the commemoration paid him yesterday by Ministers and Bishops, and by the Diocese, he was also one of the most persecuted and maltreated of men. If he deserved the eulogiums pronounced on him by the solemn vote of the clergy and laity, then a noble man has been deprived of his just due; a worthy Christian has been unjustly maligned; an innocent person visited with the severest punishment. Then he has displayed an example of the most saint-like charity and unprecedented humility; suffering evils the worst that could be inflicted upon him, the loss of honour, friends, station, power, good name, and the respect of good men, with a meekness and a patience, a forgiveness of enemies, that have few parallels in history".

It was eminently fitting that the sermon at the funeral should be preached by the Rev. Dr. Samuel Seabury, rector of the Church of the Annunciation, Bishop Onderdonk's oldest friend and confidant. Taking as his text the words from John v. 35: "He was a burning and a shining light, and ye were willing for a season to rejoice in his light", he said:

"In anguish of soul, but with characteristic promptitude, our Bishop at once marked out for himself the road he was to travel in the bleak and inhospitable region on whose course he

was wrecked. He bowed to the authority of the Church, received his sentence with humble and submissive temper, and resolved to conform to it in its spirit as well as its letter. He not only sought no opportunity to exercise his office, but he withdrew from the world, that he might devote himself in retirement to the duties of a holy life. The treachery of professed friends, the neglect and ingratitude, the violations of decorum and charity, or what he esteemed such, he could not but deeply feel, and in some marked cases resent; but his resentment was that of sorrow, not of anger or revenge. The spirit of meekness and forgiveness dwelt in his heart, and distilled from his lips. Of his accusers and judges who condemned him he uniformly spoke with all the respect and kindness that were possible for one who felt himself injured by their decision. He said all in their favor that truth would allow and charity dictate. He made no unworthy concessions, no mean compliances; though he never affected to disguise the gratification which he felt at the visits of his numerous friends, and their expressions or messages of regard and confidence . . . a strenuous advocate on principle for the daily service of the Church, he was also a constant and punctual attendant on it: neither heat, nor cold, nor storm kept him from his place: beside this there is little variety of incident to recount, and the last seventeen years of his life may be briefly summed up in the words, 'He departed not from the temple, but served God day and night with prayers' ".¹²⁵

So the inexpressibly sad story ends.

At this distant date it would be a hopeless task to retry the case. All that can now be done is to weave together the facts and to present certain considerations which may make for a more mellowed judgment born of the absence of the bitter ecclesiastical strife which was at its height at the time of the trial.

It should be remembered that this was the first trial of a bishop of this Church under the provisions of Canon 3; indeed the only one. There were, as in civil law, no precedents to govern the procedure. The bishops were called upon to act in the dual capacity of jurors and judges. The only members of the Court who had had legal experience were Bishops Hopkins of Vermont and Alfred Lee of Delaware, both of whom were members of the bar before entering the ministry. Moreover, the canon was admittedly defective and in later years was materially amended. As Bishop De Lancey in rendering his judgement forcibly said:

"It must be admitted, that the canon, under which this court is constituted and compelled to act, is, in many respects, defective. It leaves untouched many most important points,

¹²⁵*Seabury. Funeral Sermon, p 23 ff.*

on which the minds of the members of the court have been much embarrassed. It fixes no rule as to the number of witnesses necessary to prove a charge. It fixes no rule as to the limitation of time, beyond which charges are to be regarded as stale and undeserving of investigation. It gives no power to challenge the right of a Bishop to act as juror and judge, who for any reason may be supposed to be inimical to the accused party. It fails to explain the meaning of the term 'suspension', or whether the court can limit it or not. It provided no mode for removing the sentence of suspension. It compels those, who think a person not guilty, to vote on the question of his punishment. It puts the presenters in the attitude of accusers, committed to the necessity of convicting the accused, in order to justify their own action in making the Presentment".¹²⁶

Moreover, three of the bishops of the Court who voted for a sentence of deposition, would have been disqualified to sit on the case in any civil court by reason of previous and publicly expressed hostility to the respondent.

How far ecclesiastical partisanship inspired the presentment and influenced the verdict and sentence is not easy to determine. There are, however, indications that it was a factor. The three presenting bishops were Low Churchmen, though there is not the slightest ground for the assertion that they deliberately conspired to bring about the downfall of Bishop Onderdonk. It was claimed by the bishop's friends that he was declared guilty by Low Churchmen who were influenced by their ecclesiastical party convictions; on the other hand, Bishops Hopkins and Brownell, who also voted guilty, were far from being Low Churchmen, and consideration must be given to the fact that the six bishops who voted not guilty were all strong catholic Churchmen. The *Southern Churchman*, in one of its issues, was frank enough to say, "We admit that his recommendation of the Tracts for the Times, and the ordination of Mr. Carey, and, perhaps, more than all, his arbitrary and unjustifiable conduct at the close of the New York Convention of 1843, proved the occasion of his trial".¹²⁷

Coming from a leading Low Church paper this admission is significant.

There was an element of vindictiveness which cannot be overlooked. It was manifested after the trial and sentence, and to a greater or lesser degree pursued the bishop to the end of his life.

After the suspension there were in circulation specific and "shocking" statements which were traced directly to a bishop and a presbyter. Concerning these new charges Bishop Whittingham wrote:

¹²⁶*Proceedings of the Court*, p 302.

¹²⁷*Quoted in Obsequies, &c.*, p 12.

"I have made inquiry concerning these stories, and am satisfied that they are cruel calumnies. They were personally inquired into by Bishops Ives, Kemper and De Lancey, with the declared intention of presenting if they were found true. The result was, in the language of Bishop De Lancey, as reported to me, "That to his mind there was not the slightest ground for belief in anything unfavorable to Bishop Onderdonk from these rumors. On the contrary, that this case only furnished another evidence of the wicked and cruel endeavor of his enemies by slanderous reports to crush him into the dust".¹²⁸

The unbending attitude of a majority of the House of Bishops to the repeated pleas for restoration has already been indicated. From the first Memorial in 1847 to the last in 1859 there was a determination that Bishop Onderdonk should not at any time or under any circumstances be restored. By canonical enactment they were given power "to remit and terminate any judicial sentence imposed by the bishops acting as a tribunal". Exercising this power in 1856 they remitted the sentence passed on another bishop,¹²⁹ but to the end steadfastly refused to extend this clemency to the bishop of New York. Granted that he might have been "overtaken in a fault", for which he surely made atonement by his daily life, they were unmindful of the apostolic injunction "to restore such a one in the spirit of meekness; considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted".

The root of Bishop Onderdonk's trouble was his paternal effusiveness which led him into indiscretions to the point of imprudence. Bishop Whittingham, who was one of his closest friends said: "I have seen on the part of the bishop so much familiarity and coarseness of manner, if you choose—that I know well how he could give ground for wrong accusation".¹³⁰

As Bishop Gadsen said, in delivering his judgement: "Familiar manners are peculiarly liable to misunderstanding".¹³¹ Bishop De Lancey, in support of his judgement "that imprudences do not imply immorality", quoted with great effect from the trial of Bishop Benjamin Smith of Kentucky in 1837; Bishop McIlvaine being one of the judges. On several specifications the Court pronounced him guilty "without criminality"; under another head: "Guilty of the facts alleged; an evil motive not appearing, but indiscretion manifest".¹³² He was acquitted.

It may be granted that Bishop Onderdonk was imprudent; indis-

¹²⁸Brand. *Life of Bishop Whittingham*, Vol. i, p 362.

¹²⁹Henry U. Onderdonk, *Bishop of Pennsylvania*.

¹³⁰*Life of Whittingham*, Vol. i, p 359.

¹³¹*Proceedings of the Court*, p 312.

¹³²*Ibid.*, p 307.

creet, and that his actions were misinterpreted to the hurt of the Church. But he was tried, convicted and sentenced not for indiscretion or imprudence, but for immorality with a deliberately impure intent; that is a very different thing, and is open to grave doubt.

Amid a maze of contradictions two facts should be carefully weighed. The first is that those who had known him most intimately and for the longest period of time were the most profoundly convinced of his innocence.

The other is his manner of life during the nearly fifteen years of suspension. By common consent, it was all that could be desired. He walked humbly before God and gave every evidence of a contrite spirit. Even those who still believed him to have been guilty were the first to bear their testimony to his exemplary life in the later years.

Bishop Horatio Potter, who as Provisional Bishop, stood in a peculiarly delicate relation to the Diocesan, voiced the general feeling in his address to the diocesan convention in 1861, when, after speaking of the deceased clergy, he went on to say:

"One there was who stood in this place. . . . Standing as we do over a new-made grave, and looking back upon a recent scene of sorrow and suffering, there can be, it is hoped, but one feeling throughout the whole Church, a wish that every voice may be hushed save the voice of sympathy and tender recollection. From the cloud of sorrow there rises up before the mind's eye the image of a sufferer, a person of affectionate dispositions and engaging manners, who loved the Church; who once went forth amongst her foremost champions, and whose kindly smile and friendly words had won many a loving heart. Is it strange that tears should fall? Is it wonderful that friends, among whom he had ministered, and who communed with him in private, or looked upon his venerable form as he passed in the street, day by day, and year after year, should have been deeply moved at the sight of so much patient sorrow? . . . The feeling that pervades the diocese testifies to the eminent social and administrative qualities of the departed Bishop. My own memory of him begins in acts of personal kindness towards myself. In all the thirty-five years, not a syllable from him ever reached my ear that sounded harshly. His last words to me, on the very verge of death, conveyed a loving message to those nearest to me. No narrow consideration shall restrain me from saying so much, and paying my tribute to a character made engaging by so many amiable qualities, and hallowed by so much suffering".¹³³

"God accept him,
Christ receive him".

¹³³*Convention Journal, 1861, p 97-98.*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The Churchman.
The Southern Churchman.
The Episcopal Recorder.
The Protestant Episcopalian.
The Gambier Observer.
The Episcopal Watchman.
The True Catholic.
The Church Journal.
Secular Newspapers.

Journals of the General Convention. 1841-1859.

Journals of the Convention of the Diocese of New York. 1830-1861.

Autobiography of the Rev. Samuel H. Turner, D. D., late Professor of Biblical Learning and the Interpretation of Scripture in the General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. New York: A. D. F. Randolph, 683, Broadway. 1863.

An Historical Sketch of Trinity Church, New York, by the Rev. William Berrian, D. D., the Rector of the Same. New York: Stanford and Swords, 139 Broadway, 1847.

A History of the Parish of Trinity Church in the City of New York Compiled by Order of the Corporation and Edited by Morgan Dix, S. T. D., D. C. L., Ninth Rector. 4 Volumes. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The Oxford Movement in America; Or Glimpses of Life in an Anglican Seminary. By Rev. Clarence E. Walworth St. Mary's Church, Albany. New York: The Catholic Book Exchange. 1895.

(The author was a student in the Seminary with Arthur Carey, and subsequently entered the Roman Church).

A Memoir of the Life of George Washington Doane, D. D., LL. D., Bishop of New Jersey by his Son, William Crosswell Doane. New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1860.

The Life of the Late Right Reverend John Henry Hopkins, First Bishop of Vermont, and Seventh Presiding Bishop by One of His Sons. New York: F. J. Huntington and Co. 1873.

A Memoir of the Life of the Right Rev. William Meade, D. D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Virginia by the Right Rev. J. Johns, D. D., with a Memorial Sermon by the Rev. William Sparrow, D. D. Baltimore: Innes & Co. 1867.

Lives of the Bishops of North Carolina from the Establishment of the Episcopate in that State Down to the Division of the Diocese by Marshall Delancey Haywood. Raleigh, N. C. 1910.

(Sketch of Bishop Ives, pages 91-139).

Life of William Rollinson Whittingham, Fourth Bishop of Maryland by William Francis Brand. 2 Vols. New York: E. & J. B. Young. 1883.

creet, and that his actions were misinterpreted to the hurt of the Church. But he was tried, convicted and sentenced not for indiscretion or imprudence, but for immorality with a deliberately impure intent; that is a very different thing, and is open to grave doubt.

Amid a maze of contradictions two facts should be carefully weighed. The first is that those who had known him most intimately and for the longest period of time were the most profoundly convinced of his innocence.

The other is his manner of life during the nearly fifteen years of suspension. By common consent, it was all that could be desired. He walked humbly before God and gave every evidence of a contrite spirit. Even those who still believed him to have been guilty were the first to bear their testimony to his exemplary life in the later years.

Bishop Horatio Potter, who as Provisional Bishop, stood in a peculiarly delicate relation to the Diocesan, voiced the general feeling in his address to the diocesan convention in 1861, when, after speaking of the deceased clergy, he went on to say:

"One there was who stood in this place. . . . Standing as we do over a new-made grave, and looking back upon a recent scene of sorrow and suffering, there can be, it is hoped, but one feeling throughout the whole Church, a wish that every voice may be hushed save the voice of sympathy and tender recollection. From the cloud of sorrow there rises up before the mind's eye the image of a sufferer, a person of affectionate dispositions and engaging manners, who loved the Church; who once went forth amongst her foremost champions, and whose kindly smile and friendly words had won many a loving heart. Is it strange that tears should fall? Is it wonderful that friends, among whom he had ministered, and who communed with him in private, or looked upon his venerable form as he passed in the street, day by day, and year after year, should have been deeply moved at the sight of so much patient sorrow? . . . The feeling that pervades the diocese testifies to the eminent social and administrative qualities of the departed Bishop. My own memory of him begins in acts of personal kindness towards myself. In all the thirty-five years, not a syllable from him ever reached my ear that sounded harshly. His last words to me, on the very verge of death, conveyed a loving message to those nearest to me. No narrow consideration shall restrain me from saying so much, and paying my tribute to a character made engaging by so many amiable qualities, and hallowed by so much suffering".¹³³

"God accept him,
Christ receive him".

¹³³*Convention Journal*, 1861, p 97-98.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The Churchman.
The Southern Churchman.
The Episcopal Recorder.
The Protestant Episcopalian.
The Gambier Observer.
The Episcopal Watchman.
The True Catholic.
The Church Journal.
Secular Newspapers.

Journals of the General Convention. 1841-1859.

Journals of the Convention of the Diocese of New York. 1830-1861.

Autobiography of the Rev. Samuel H. Turner, D. D., late Professor of Biblical Learning and the Interpretation of Scripture in the General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. New York: A. D. F. Randolph, 683, Broadway. 1863.

An Historical Sketch of Trinity Church, New York, by the Rev. William Berrian, D. D., the Rector of the Same. New York: Stanford and Swords, 139 Broadway, 1847.

A History of the Parish of Trinity Church in the City of New York Compiled by Order of the Corporation and Edited by Morgan Dix, S. T. D., D. C. L., Ninth Rector. 4 Volumes. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The Oxford Movement in America; Or Glimpses of Life in an Anglican Seminary. By Rev. Clarence E. Walworth St. Mary's Church, Albany. New York: The Catholic Book Exchange. 1895.

(The author was a student in the Seminary with Arthur Carey, and subsequently entered the Roman Church).

A Memoir of the Life of George Washington Doane, D. D., LL. D., Bishop of New Jersey by his Son, William Crosswell Doane. New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1860.

The Life of the Late Right Reverend John Henry Hopkins, First Bishop of Vermont, and Seventh Presiding Bishop by One of His Sons. New York: F. J. Huntington and Co. 1873.

A Memoir of the Life of the Right Rev. William Meade, D. D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Virginia by the Right Rev. J. Johns, D. D., with a Memorial Sermon by the Rev. William Sparrow, D. D. Baltimore: Innes & Co. 1867.

Lives of the Bishops of North Carolina from the Establishment of the Episcopate in that State Down to the Division of the Diocese by Marshall Delancey Haywood. Raleigh, N. C. 1910.

(Sketch of Bishop Ives, pages 91-139).

Life of William Rollinson Whittingham, Fourth Bishop of Maryland by William Francis Brand. 2 Vols. New York: E. & J. B. Young. 1883.

A Memoir of the Life of James Milnor, D. D., Late Rector of St. George's Church, New York, by the Rev. John S. Stone, D. D., Rector of Christ Church, Brooklyn. Published by the American Tract Society. 1848.

Record of the Life and Work of the Rev. Stephen Higginson Tyng, D. D., and History of St. George's Church, New York, to the Close of his Rectorship, by C. T. Tyng. 1880.

THE CAREY ORDINATION

Journal of the Convention of the Diocese of New York. 1843.

*The True Issue for True Churchmen. A Statement of Facts In Relation to the Recent Ordination in St. Stephen's Church, New York, by Drs. Smith and Anthon. New York: Harper & Brothers, 82 Cliff-Street. Pp 46. 1843.

*A Full and True Statement of the Examination and Ordination of Mr. Arthur Carey. Taken from *The Churchman* of July 8, 15, 22, 29, and August 5 and 12. With an Appendix. New York: James A. Sparks, The Churchman's Book Store, 100 Nassau Street. Pp 113. 1843.

The Appendix contains several letters addressed to *The Churchman*, including one from Arthur Carey.

*The True Issue Sustained; or, An Exhibit of the Views and Spirit of the Episcopal Press in Relation to the Recent Ordination in St. Stephen's Church, New York. Compiled by a Member of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of New York. New York: Harper & Brothers, 82 Cliff-Street. Pp 54. 1843.

*A Letter Sustaining the Recent Ordination of Mr. Arthur Carey. By Stephen H. Tyng, D. D., Rector of the Church of Epiphany, and Lately One of the Editors of the *Episcopal Recorder*, Philadelphia. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 200 Broadway. Philadelphia: George S. Appleton, 148 Chestnut Street. Pp 12. 1843.

Shortly after writing this Letter Dr. Tyng became Rector of St. George's Church, New York.

*A Review of Bishop B. T. Onderdonk's Address in Respect to a Late Ordination. By Observer. Philadelphia: Printed by Stavely and M'Calla, No. 12 Pear Street. Pp 23.

*A Letter to A Parishioner Relative to the Recent Ordination of Mr. Arthur Carey. By Benjamin I. Haight, A. M., Rector of All Saints' Church, New York. New York: James A. Sparks, Churchman's Book Store, 100 Nassau Street. Pp 22. 1843.

*The Progress of Puseyism. A Review of the Apologies of Dr. Seabury and Mr. Haight, for the Ordination of Mr. Arthur Carey; With Remarks on the Attempts Now Making to Unprotestantize the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. By A Churchman. "Nor Are You, Brethren of the Laity, uninterested in this Serious and Important Subject". *Diocesan Charge of the Bishop of New York on the Oxford Tracts*. New York: J. Winchester, 30 Ann Street. Sun Office, Corner Fulton and Nassau: J. C. Wadleigh, 459 Broadway: Brainard & Co., Boston: Zieber & Co., Philadelphia: William Taylor, Baltimore: Geo. Jones, Albany; and by Book Sellers & Periodical Agents throughout the United States. Pp 48. 1843.

*Pamphlets.

*Letters to The Laity on the American Episcopal Church by A Protestant Episcopalian. Second Edition. "He has laid his hand upon the Drum Ecclesiastic, and is beating such a revellie as may wake up our drowsy laymen, and then—". Philadelphia: James M. Campbell & Co., 98 Chestnut Street. Saxton & Miles, 205 Broadway, New York. Saxton, Pierce & Co., Boston; N. Hickman, Baltimore; R. G. Berford, Pittsburgh; Robinson & Jones, Cincinnati; Smith, Drinker & Morris, Richmond. W. T. Williams, Savannah; and the Principal Booksellers, &c., throughout the United States. 1843. Pp 36.

*A Letter to the Rt. Rev. Bishop Onderdonk of New York, by Washington Plebs, Esq. Followed by an Epistle to Rev. Stephen H. Tyng, Doctor Divinitatis, &c. "There be gods many, and lords many". I Cor. 8th Chap, 5th v. New York, 1843. Pp 24.

*Bishop Onderdonk's Pastoral Letters; The Reply of "Laici" to an "Address to the Laity". Address of Laity to the Bishop and the Bishop's Reply to the Same. New York: H. M. Onderdonk & Co. Publishers, 4 John Street. 1844.

*A Pastoral Letter to the Laity of His Spiritual Charge, Occasioned by A Recent Appeal to Them by Some of their own Number. By Benjamin T. Onderdonk, D. D., Bishop of the Diocese of New York. New York: H. M. Onderdonk & Co. Publishers, 4 John Street. Pp 7. 1844.

*Mr. Carey's Ordination. Drs. Smith and Anthon's Protest. Abuses of the Religious Press. A Fourth Letter Addressed to the Bishops, Clergy, and Laity, of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. By John Henry Hopkins, D. D., Bishop of the Diocese of Vermont. Philadelphia: H. Hooker, 178 Chestnut Street, (Opposite Masonic Hall). Pp 71. 1844.

(One of Four Letters issued under the title of "Novelties which disturb Our Peace".)

*Speech of Mr. John Duer Delivered in the Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the Diocese of New York, on Friday, the 29th of September, 1843, in Support of the Resolutions Offered by Judge Oakley. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1843.

*The Joy of the Saints: A Discourse on the Third Sunday after Easter A. D. MDCCCXLIV. Being the First Sunday after the Intelligence of the Death of the Rev. Arthur Carey, A. M., An Assistant Minister in the Church of the Annunciation, New York. By the Rev. Samuel Seabury, D. D., Rector of Said Church. New York: Published by James A. Sparks, 109 Nassau Street. 1844. Pp 28.

PRESENTMENT AND TRIAL

*A Narrative Of Facts Which Led to the Presentment of the Rt. Rev. Benj. T. Onderdonk, Bishop of New York. By Paul Trapier, Presbyter of the Diocese of South Carolina. New York: Stanford & Swords, 139 Broadway. 1845.

*The Conspiracy Against the Late Bishop of New York Unravelled by one of the Conspirators, Viz; James C. Richmond, Presbyter of the Diocese of Long Island. New York: James C. Richmond. 1845.

The Proceedings of the Court Convened Under the Third Canon of 1844, in the City of New York, on Tuesday, December 10, 1844, for the Trial of the

*Pamphlets.

Right Rev. Benjamin T. Onderdonk, D. D., Bishop of New York; on a Presentment Made by the Bishops of Virginia, Tennessee, and Georgia. By Authority of the Court. Pp 333. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway. Philadelphia: George S. Appleton, 148 Chestnut Street. MDCCCXLV.

*Opinions of the Minority of the Court Convened Under the Third Canon of 1844, in the City of New York, on Tuesday, December 10, 1844, for the Trial of the Right Rev. Benjamin T. Onderdonk, D. D., Bishop of New York; on a Presentment made by the Bishops of Virginia, Tennessee and Georgia. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 200 Broadway. Philadelphia: George S. Appleton, 148 Chestnut Street. MDCCCXLV. Pp 47.

*Bishop Onderdonk's statement. A Statement of the Facts and Circumstances Connected with the Recent Trial of the Bishop of New York. New York: Henry M. Onderdonk, 25 John Street. Philadelphia: George S. Appleton, 148 Chestnut Street. Pp 31. 1845.

*Statement of Bishop Meade in Reply to Some Parts of Bishop Onderdonk's Statement of Facts and Circumstances Connected with his Trial. New York: Stanford and Swords, 139 Broadway. Philadelphia: George S. Appleton, 148 Chestnut Street. Pp 21. 1845.

*Mr. Richmond's Reply to the Statement of The Late Bishop of New York. None can ruin a man, except himself.

"And shame it is, if that a preest take kepe,
To see a shotten shepherd, and clene shepe;
Wel ought a preest ensample for to yeve,
By his clenenesse, how his shepe shulde live".

New York: Burgess, Stringer and Company. Pp 16. 1845.

*Facts Connected with the Presentment of Bishop Onderdonk: A Reply to Parts of the Bishop's Statements. By John Jay, One of the Counsel Originally Employed by the Presenting Bishops.

Veritas Nihil Veretur Nisi Abscondi

New York: Stanford and Swords, 139 Broadway. Philadelphia: George S. Appleton, 148 Chestnut Street. Pp 23, 1845.

*Jay's Pamphlet Reviewed, Being a Brief Answer To Parts of the Bishop's Statement, by John Jay. *One of the Counsellors originally employed by the Presenting Bishops.* By A Looker On.

"Eves-droppers, or such as listen under walls, or windows, or the eves of a house, to hearken after discourse, and thereupon to frame slanderous and mischievous tales, are a common nuisance."

4 Blackstone's Commentaries, 168.

New York: Henry M. Onderdonk, No. 25 John Street. 1845. Pp 12.

*A Review of the Trial of the Rt. Rev. B. T. Onderdonk, D. D., by Charles King, Editor of the *New-York American*. New York: Stanford and Swords,

*Pamphlets.

BENJAMIN T. ONDERDONK, FOURTH BISHOP OF NEW YORK 49

139 Broadway. Philadelphia: George S. Appleton, 148 Chestnut Street. Pp 16. 1845.

*Bishop Onderdonk's Trial. The Verdict Sustained at the Bar of Public Opinion; With Remarks of Laicus and Bishop Doane by Spectator.

"There was enough in the articles (of impeachment), Heaven knows, if they could be established, to damn any man."
New York: John F. Trow & Co., Printers, 33 Ann Street. Pp 16. 1845.

*A Defence of the Ladies, and Others, against the Bishop of Maryland, and His Aids. By James C. Richmond, Presbyter.

"Old things as new, and new as old he draws,
And makes the worse appear the better cause".

"He was in logic a great critic,
Profoundly skilled in analytic,
He could distinguish and divide
A Hair 'twixt south and south-west side—
On either which he would dispute,
Confute, change hands, and still confute.
He'd undertake to prove by force
Or argument, a man's no horse".

New York: Burgess, Stringer & Co. Pp 16. 1845.

*Richmond's Pamphlets Reviewed. A Letter to the Rev. James C. Richmond, Presbyter of Rhode Island, And by his Own Showing, Principal Agent of the Conspirators, in the Recent Combination to Destroy the Bishop of New York. By A South-Carolinian.

"Verily, there is a march of Science;—but, alas who shall beat the drums for its retreat".

"It is an historical fact, of which all the Bishops who hear me must be fully aware, that for the last two years, or for nearly that period, there has been every possible effort made in this Diocese, to destroy the Bishop".

New York: Jones & Welsh, No. 104 Nassau Street. Near Ann-Street. Pp 24. 1845.

The author of this pamphlet was Thomas C. Butler of South Carolina.

*The Voice of Truth: Or, An Examination of the Proceedings On the Presentment, Trial, and Sentence of the Rt. Rev. Benjamin T. Onderdonk, D. D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of New York.

Anonymous. Published in Five Parts.

*No Church Without A Bishop. Or A Peep Into the Sanctuary Being a Succinct Examination of The Right Rev. B. T. Onderdonk, Bishop of New York. A Complete Dissection Of Human and Inhuman Testimony. Showing How Vice Is Extirpated And Money Made, By Warring On The Vicious. By A High Churchman. Boston: For Sale at all Book-Stores. Pp 32. 1845.

A scurrilous production; at times verging on the obscene.

*The Trial Tried; Or, The Bishop and the Court at the Bar of Public Opinion. By Laicus. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1845.

*Pamphlets.

*The Verdict Unsealed. Being a Review of the Testimony given before the Court Convened for the Trial of the Bishop of New York by Amici Justitiae. New York: H. M. Onderdonk & Co., 25 John Street. 1845. Pp 34.

*The Verdict Sustained At The Bar of Public Opinion; With Regard to Laicus and Bishop Doane By Spectator. "There was enough in the articles (of impeachment), Heaven knows, if they could be established, to damn any man". New York: John F. Trow & Co., 33 Ann-Street. Pp 16.

*Appeal and Review. An Appeal from the Sentence of the Bishop of New York and a Review of the Trial. New York: James A. Sparks, 161 Fulton Street. 1845. Pp 32. (signed) Amicus Veritatis.

*A Sermon By The Rev. Samuel Seabury, D. D., in Reference to the Trial of the Right Rev'd. Benj. T. Onderdonk, D. D., Bishop of New York. Preached in the Church of the Annunciation, on Sunday, January 5th, 1845. From the *Churchman* of Jan. 11th, 1845.

"I was dumb with silence: I held my peace, even from good; and my sorrow was stirred".—Ps. XXXIX, 2.

Preached the Sunday morning after the sentence and in the church regularly attended by the Bishop.

ACTION OF THE DIOCESE OF NEW YORK

What Ought the Diocese To Do? Considerations Addressed to Churchmen of the Diocese of New York By A Layman. Printed for the Author. 1845. Pp 15.

*A Letter of the Rev. William Barlow, to a Committee of New York Clergymen: In Reply to a Circular Addressed by them to Certain Clergymen of the Diocese of New York. 1845. Pp 8.

*A Few Brief Remarks upon Resignation. N. D. Pp 4.

Journal of the Convention of the Diocese of New York, 1845.

Records of the Proceedings and Debates at the 61st Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of New York. Held in St. John's Chapel, in the City of New York, Commencing on Wednesday morning, September 24th, and Ending on Tuesday, P. M., September 30th. By Robert West. New York: Stanford and Swords, Broadway. 1845. Pp 148.

*Report of the Committee Appointed to Consider the Sentence upon the Right Reverend Benjamin T. Onderdonk, and the Effect Thereon Upon the Powers and Duties of the Standing-Committee of the Diocese of New York. New York: Stanford & Swords, 139 Broadway. 1845. Pp 13.

*Report to the Vestry of St. Peter's Church, Albany, of the Lay Delegates appointed by them, Who attended the Diocesan Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Held at the City of New York, on the 23rd day of September, 1845, and continued to the 30th of the same month. Albany: Erastus H. Pease. 1845. With Appendices. Pp 42.

*Pamphlets.

*The Proceedings of the Late Convention. A Review of a Pamphlet, by the Hon. John C. Spencer, Entitled Report to the Vestry of St. Peter's Church, Albany, of the Lay Delegates Appointed by them, who Attended the Diocesan Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, held at the City of New York, on the 23rd day of September, 1845, and continued to the 30th of the same month.

*Credis hoc posse effici,
Inter Videntes omnia?*

Seneca, in Hyppolyto.

New York: J. R. Winsor, Printer, 133 Fulton Street. 1846. Pp 38.

EFFORTS FOR RESTORATION

Obsequies And Obituary Notices of the Late Right Reverend Benj. Tredwell Onderdonk, D. D., Bishop of New York, Including the Several Applications for the Removal of His Sentence and Other Documents, So Arranged as to Form a Connected History of Events, With Introductory Remarks. By A New-York Churchman. New York: Published by H. B. Price, 884 Broadway. Pp 191. 1861.

The compiler was the Rev. Samuel Seabury, editor of *The Churchman*, An excellent picture of Bishop Onderdonk is prefixed.

*The Bishop of New York and His Brethren. Bishop Onderdonk's Letter to the House of Bishops, and Memorial to the General Convention. With the Report Thereon of a Committee of Said House, and Remarks on the Report. By A Christian. New York: Published for the Author. MDCCCXLVII. Pp 12.

*The Prayer of the Diocese of New York to the House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church for Relief from Sufferings Consequent on the Sentence of the Episcopal Court in January, 1845. Dated September 25, 1850. Pp 16.

*Is the Diocese of New York Vacant? n. d.

*Statement of Dr. Anthon read before the Convention of the Diocese of New York, September 20, 1859, in relation to the Case of Bishop Onderdonk.

Journals of the Convention of the Diocese, 1847-1851; 1858, 1859, 1861.

*Witness Unto The Truth. A Sermon Preached in Trinity Church, New York, on Tuesday, May 7th, 1861, at the Funeral of the Right Reverend Benjamin Tredwell Onderdonk, Bishop of the Diocese of New York, and Professor of the Nature, Ministry, and Polity of the Church in the General Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church. By Samuel Seabury, D. D., Rector of the Church of the Annunciation, New York. "Let me now fall into the hand of the Lord; for very great are his mercies; but let me not fall into the hand of man". I Chron. XXI. 13. New York: Mason Brothers, 5 & 7 Mercer Street. 1861. Pp 40.

*Pamphlets.

THE DIOCESE OF MISSISSIPPI AND THE CONFEDERACY

By Nash Kerr Burger

IN the nearly seventy years, between 1792, when the Rev. Adam Cloud brought the first services of the Episcopal Church to "the far-famed Natchez Country,"¹ and the withdrawal of the state of Mississippi from the Union in January, 1861, that land had been wrested from the wilderness, the Indians, and the Spaniards; and a complex society, smacking at once of the frontier and of Tory gentility, had been created into an American state. In the process was born the Episcopal diocese of Mississippi, the first convention of which met in Natchez, in May, 1826.²

By 1861, there were 1,317 communicants reported from thirty-nine parishes and missions, ranging from Trinity Church's, 252, at Natchez, and Christ Church's, 187, at Vicksburg, in which easily accessible river-towns the Church had been established for some time, to 12 members at St. Jude's, Corinth, and 4 at the Meridian mission, both smaller settlements, where the Church had more recently gone. Jackson, the capital, had 116 communicants. The Church was at work generally over the state, but was strongest in the southwest, the Natchez district, where Natchez, Church Hill, Woodville, Port Gibson, Grand Gulf, Washington, and the rural parish of the Epiphany, Claiborne County, near Port Gibson, supplied a large part of the wealth and membership of the Church. Yet there were thriving parishes along the Gulf of Mexico, such as Trinity at Pass Christian, and St. Luke's at Shieldsborough (Now Bay St. Louis), which were especially active during the summer months, when wealthy planters and merchants from New Orleans and the interior had long been wont to come there. Most of the remaining parishes were along the fringes of the Mississippi river delta, above Vicksburg, or across the north-central part of the state, where such towns as Holly Springs, Columbus, and Okolona had prospered, as the planters had prospered, in the flush-times after 1830.³

Established as a Diocese in 1826, Mississippi had been served by Polk and Otey, and since the Feast of St. Matthias, 1850, had main-

¹*History of the Introduction of Protestantism into Mississippi and the Southwest*, Rev. John G. Jones, pg. 93.

²*Journal of the Episcopal Church in Mississippi*, 1826, pg. 1.

³*Journal of the Diocese*, 1861, pgs. 66-87. Hereafter called *Journal*.

tained its own bishop, the Rt. Rev. William Mercer Green, who had come to the diocese from North Carolina, on being elected bishop.⁴

Bishop Green's grandfather, Dr. Samuel Green, came from Liverpool to settle on the Cape Fear river, near Wilmington, North Carolina, in which town he died and was buried in 1771. He was twice married, and by his second wife, Hannah Mercer, had seven children, one of whom, William, was the father of the Bishop. William Mercer Green was born May 2, 1798, in Wilmington, North Carolina. In 1814, he entered the University of North Carolina and in 1818 received his A. B. degree. It is said that a life of Bishop Berkeley, read during his university days, had much to do with the decision of the future bishop to undertake preparation for the priesthood. Married soon after graduation from college, he was ordained deacon, April 29, 1821, and priest, April 20, 1823, by Bishop Channing Moore, and was for four years in charge of St. John's Church, Williamsborough, and in charge of missions at Halifax, Raleigh, Oxford, Milton, and Hillsborough. In 1826, Bishop Green established St. Matthew's Church at Hillsborough, and changed his home to that place. In 1837 the University of North Carolina offered him the position of chaplain to the University and of professor of Belles-Lettres. He accepted the dual post and remained at Chapel Hill until called, in 1849, to be the first bishop of Mississippi. Bishop Green was consecrated in St. Andrew's Church, Jackson, on February 24, 1850, by Bishops J. H. Otey of Tennessee; Leonidas Polk of Louisiana; N. H. Cobb of Alabama; and George W. Freeman of Arkansas. Previously, in 1845, the University of Pennsylvania had conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity.⁵

The State of Mississippi was exceedingly prosperous during the first decade of Dr. Green's episcopate. The per capita wealth was \$2,128.46 for the whites in 1860, as compared with \$694.78 for the nation, while in such a county as Adams, which included Natchez, it was actually \$4,542.50.⁶ And since the Church, as generally in the South, was strongest with the planter group, the diocese shared the general good times.

Bishop Green was a leader in the movement for the University of the South, and of the original \$500,000 quickly raised to start it a considerable part came from Mississippi.⁷ The parishes paid \$3,273.23

⁴*Journal*, 1850, pg. 9.

⁵*This sketch of Bishop Green's life before his coming to Mississippi is based on Genealogy of the Sharpless Family, Gilbert Cope, Philadelphia, 1887, pgs. 307-308 and 497-498. See also: Wm. Stevens Perry, "The Bishops of the American Church," New York, 1897, p. 111.*

⁶"Confederate Mississippi," thesis Duke University, Betterworth, p. 296.

⁷*Journal*, 1860, p. 30.

in the year ending in the spring of 1861, to the diocese for bishop's salary and other expenses,⁸ and themselves operated on an income of \$29,757.74, for the year ending April, 1860.⁹ An Episcopal Endowment Fund of \$6,425 was being added to annually.¹⁰ And in addition to the money put by churchmen into numerous schools, wholly or partly under Church control, the actual church property was valued at \$159,840, in 1860.¹¹ Financially, then, ten years after the beginning of the episcopate of Bishop Green, the diocese was well organized and expanding rapidly with the growth of the state.

Out of the whole number of the state's 791,305 inhabitants (census of 1860), the number of Episcopalians was not large. If the number reported above 1,317, be taken as accurate (it was probably low, as seven parishes were unreported) the proportion of churchmen was only 1 out of every 583 of the population, counting, however, children as well as adults. The extensive work with negroes, referred to throughout the Diocesan Journals, from the first in 1826, and intensified after the arrival of Bishop Green, consisted chiefly, in the case of adults, in a preliminary instruction and administration of baptism, followed by a period of thorough teaching preceding confirmation, which might be deferred several years. Thus, in spite of widespread attention to the spiritual needs of the blacks, the number of those confirmed by 1860 was not large. The number of negroes baptized yearly was up to 434 by 1860, but the entire number of negro communicants was only 162.¹² There was thus evident a real interest in the development of the negroes, together with the desire to see that full church membership should come only to those trained and able to receive it.

In spite of the numerical weakness of the Church in Mississippi, and the South generally, it has been well said that "its historic position and its influence . . . gave it a position of importance; and . . . the character, social antecedents, intelligence, and wealth of its members assured it of public consideration far out of proportion to its numerical strength."¹³

On Christmas Day, 1860, the Bishop was completing a decade of service in a peaceful and growing diocese, the number of parishes, priests, and communicants had doubled under his careful ministrations, and, in spite of the uncertainty of political affairs, it must have been with a thankful heart and soul that he was able "on this blessed festival

⁸*Journal*, 1860, pg. 11.

⁹*Ibid.*, pg. 23.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, pg. 12.

¹¹*U. S. Manuscript Census, 1860, Social Statistics, Schedule 6 (8th U. S. Census).*

¹²*Journal*, 1860, facing pg. 80.

¹³*The Church in the Confederate States, Cheshire, pg. 4.*

to unite with the rector and congregation of St. Andrew's Church [Jackson], in celebrating the memorial which our Lord has commanded us to make in remembrance of his blessed passion and precious death."¹⁴

That was Christmas Day. On January 9, 1861, the state "fled the union."¹⁵

The thirty-fifth annual convention of the diocese met in Christ Church, Holly Springs, on April 25, 26, and 27, 1861.¹⁶ There were thirty-three of the clergy present, in addition to the bishop. An indication of the confusion and excitement that had come upon the state with secession is the fact that of sixty-five lay delegates who had been elected only twelve attended.¹⁷ The preceding year, twenty-seven of sixty-nine had appeared at the convention.¹⁸

The bishop presented to the convention the circular sent from Sewanee by Bishops Polk and Elliott, as senior bishops, to all other Southern bishops, asking for a meeting in Montgomery, Alabama, on July 3rd, "to consult upon such matters as may have arisen out of the changes in our civil affairs."¹⁹ The committee to whom the circular was referred approved of the meeting, and a motion to elect delegates and participate therein was adopted. Clerical delegates elected were: The Rev. W. C. Crane, rector at St. Andrew's, Jackson; the Rev. F. A. P. Barnard, rector at Oxford and president of the University of Mississippi; the Rev. Henry Sansom, rector of Grace Church, Canton. Of the laity, the following were chosen: C. C. Shackelford, of Canton; John Duncan, of Jackson; and Jacob Thompson, of Oxford.²⁰

In the bishop's address to the convention he spoke of the circular he had sent to the clergy "requesting them to make certain alterations in the usual Prayers for the President and for Congress, for the purpose of adapting them to the new order of things in our Confederacy. In doing this I was aware of exercising a power nowhere expressly authorized in our canons;—but I was at the same time unconscious of overstepping the bounds of that *sound discretion* allowed to Bishops, as well as other officials, in meeting such extraordinary occasions, as no legislative sagacity can foresee, and for which no laws can adequately provide."²¹

Nor did the convention feel that the bishop had overstepped

¹⁴*Journal*, 1861, pgs. 50-51.

¹⁵*Confederate Mississippi*, Bettersworth, pg. 1.

¹⁶*Journal*, 1861.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, pgs. 3-6.

¹⁸*Journal*, 1860, pgs. 5-6.

¹⁹*Journal*, 1861, pg. 30.

²⁰*Ibid.*, pgs. 30-31.

²¹*Ibid.*, pg. 64.

the bounds. The Standing Committee concurred, and the convention resolved unanimously: "that the convention approve of the alterations in the usual prayers for the President, and for Congress, made by the bishop, and heartily thank him for the forms of prayer which he has set forth, and for his promptness in providing them; as we think, in the exercise of a sound discretion."²²

The attitude of the bishop, and it may be assumed of the more temperate and thoughtful members of the diocese, was clearly expressed at the conclusion of his pastoral to the convention, when he said:

"However painful may have been the struggle in severing the national bonds which have hitherto united us as one people, *the deed is done*; and, as we believe, *with good cause*, and with *no thought of undoing it*. Our duty then, as patriot-churchmen, is not only to pray for the new government and rulers under whose authority we this day find ourselves, but to uphold with heart and hand the Constitution and Laws which our representatives have modelled for our guidance and protection . . . let us not, in the fervor of our patriotism, forget that we are Christian men, and yield to feelings of hatred and revenge more than a true love of country calls for at our hands. . . . If ever there was a time when prayer should be fervent and unceasing, that time is the present, when we are threatened with the horrors of a fratricidal war. . . . Let us then, both Clergy and Laity, besiege the throne of grace with our supplications for our country. . . . Let us suppress all bitterness and wrath . . . all envyings and jealousies. . . . Let us, in every way, uphold the law and seek to promote order. So shall we best serve the State, and draw down upon our institutions and people the blessing of Him 'without whom nothing is strong, nothing is holy.' "²³

Had the spirit of the bishop's pastoral been that of those in political authority, there would have been no conflict; there would, indeed, have been no cause for secession. But "bitterness and wrath" had been too long a-smoldering to be put down, and "envyings and jealousies" had over-powered the minds of too many men to be suppressed.

More hopeful were the bishop's remarks on the Church itself. "Whilst the State is thus passing through the fires of a painful revolution, how thankful should we be that the Church is at peace; and that although our political relations toward our brethren with whom we have hitherto so lovingly associated have been severed, no change of name, of government, or national interest, will be able to lessen our affection

²²*Journal*, 1861, pg. 11.

²³*Ibid.*, pgs. 64-65.

for them as fellow-members with us of the One, Holy, and Apostolic Communion which is in Christ our Lord. If a separate and independent ecclesiastical organization shall be demanded . . . it will exhibit to the world a division without dissension, a separation without injury to the respective parts, a parting of brothers amid tears of affection, and a mutual commending of each other to God."²⁴

Still remote from the actualities of war and its effect on the lives and souls of men, the committee on the state of the Church handed in to the convention a calm and trustful report, saying, in part: "When God waketh up to disturb the nations, we know that he means to separate the evil from the good; and that at such time of all others He requires His own purchased people to be strong . . . trusting to His wisdom out of the whirlwind to bring a calm . . . making His Church with her holy teaching to the world, what the ark of old was to the flood—the savior of those within her enclosure."²⁵ The author of the report, the Rev. Dr. G. B. Perry, of Trinity parish, Natchez, undoubtedly had need to recall these words in the fall of 1864, when harassed in the performance of his priestly duties by Northern military rule, at Natchez, he was forced to appeal to friends and fellow-clergy in the United States for protection.²⁶

In spite of the clouds of revolution gathering on the horizon, no war had yet begun, and for the most part in the diocese, throughout 1861, continued the steady growth that was the fruit of good organization, ample resources, and faithful ministration. Two new parishes were represented at the Holly Springs convention: Grace Church, Carrollton; and St. Stephen's, Panola [now Batesville]²⁷ The number reported confirmed, 229, was eighteen above that of 1860, and the 52 negroes included, increased by approximately one-third the total number of colored communicants.²⁸ The committee on diocesan schools found St. Thomas' Hall, Holly Springs; Trinity Female Seminary, on the Gulf Coast at Pass Christian; Rose Gates College, Okolona; and Wilson Hall, near Holly Springs; all in successful operation, and that there was agitation for the erection of "an Institution of the first rank for young Ladies, near the City of Jackson."²⁹ Plans were under way for church buildings for parishes in Hinds County (Church of the Redemption), at Brandon, and at Meridian, at which latter place the Rev. Geo. Stewart, missionary, declared that he had secured \$700 and "a very beautiful plan of a church, from Henry Congdon,

²⁴*Journal*, 1861, pg. 35.

²⁵*Ibid.*, pg. 20.

²⁶*Confederate Mississippi*, Bettersworth., pg. 373.

²⁷*Journal*, 1861, pgs. 3-6.

²⁸*Ibid.*, page 62.

²⁹*Ibid.*, pgs. 23-24.

of New York City," which would cost \$2,000, and that "this work would have been begun before this but for the present state of our country."³⁰ St. James' Church, Port Gibson, of which the Rev. Charles B. Dana was rector, likewise reported that "in consequence of the disturbed condition of the country, and the stringency in its monetary affairs, it has been deemed expedient to postpone, for the present, the erection of the church, (for which an amount nearly sufficient has been subscribed)."³¹

Except in the year 1864, the diocesan convention continued to meet annually during the war. The war itself did not reach the soil of Mississippi until the bloody battle of Shiloh, April 6, 1862, was fought as Grant drove southward in his efforts to divide the Confederacy.³² On the 24th of the same month, the thirty-sixth annual convention of the diocese was held in St. Andrew's Church, Jackson.³³ In the year that had elapsed since the previous meeting at Holly Springs, the bishop and delegates had attended the meetings of the Southern dioceses at Montgomery, in July, and at Columbia, S. C., in October, where the machinery for continuing the Episcopal Church in the Confederacy had been set up.³⁴

The convention at Jackson immediately resolved that the constitution drawn up at Columbia for the Church in the Confederacy be ratified, and passed an amendment to the diocesan constitution inserting "the Confederate States" for "the United States" in the constitution and canons.³⁵

The general condition of the diocese had been good during the year. The number of clergy had increased from thirty-three to thirty-six.³⁶ The number confirmed had risen from 229 to 250.³⁷ The committee on the state of the church seemed well-pleased, and reported that they found "many encouraging indications of improvement." And they spoke of "the increase in the number of those who have received the rites of baptism and confirmation, together with the additions to the clergy of the diocese."³⁸

Yet there were signs that the war was beginning to close in on the diocese. Less than half the clergy were able to attend the conven-

³⁰*Journal*, 1861, pgs. 51 and 87.

³¹*Ibid.*, pg. 76.

³²*Confederate Military History*, Vol. VII, Mississippi (hereafter referred to as *C. M. H.*) page 44.

³³*Journal*, 1867 (containing an abstract of the convention proceedings for the ~~war~~ years), pg. 36.

³⁴*The Church in The Confederacy*, Cheshire, pgs. 35-ff.

³⁵*Journal*, 1867, pg. 37.

³⁶*Ibid.*, pg. 43.

³⁷*Ibid.*, pg. 42.

³⁸*Ibid.*, pg. 36.

tion, and only the parishes at Vicksburg, Canton, Kirkwood, Oxford, Holly Springs, Jackson, and the Chapel of the Cross, Madison County, were represented by lay delegates.³⁹ Bishop Green reported that of the four diocesan schools, only Wilson Hall, the newest and least of them all, was still able to operate in view of the confusion and uncertainty of the times.⁴⁰

The matter of finances that was to plague the Confederacy, which was long on cotton but short on gold, had begun already to worry the diocese. The bishop in his address spoke of the need for funds, particularly for diocesan missions, where the new and weaker work of the Church might be permanently crippled if not supported. "I am fully aware," he said, "of the pecuniary difficulty under which our people are at the present laboring; but I know also that few of them have as yet come up to that full measure of self-denial and liberality in giving, demanded by the present exigency of the Church. . . . Let not the flame of our devotion then be less ardent, or our offering upon the Church altar less costly, because, for our sins, the noise of war is heard in our land."⁴¹

The convention of 1863 also met at Jackson, on April 23rd, in the words of Bishop Green, "Amidst the continued alarms of war, and the general suffering of our people."⁴²

With Vicksburg as the ultimate goal, more and more of the state was being over-run by the conflict. There had been fighting on the coast; while on the west the Federal fleet dominated the Mississippi, except for the forts around Vicksburg, Natchez itself having been briefly occupied. But it was north Mississippi that had suffered the most; much of it was in the hands of Grant, and many towns and plantations had been wholly or partly destroyed.⁴³ In December, 1862, President Davis had come to the state, addressing the legislature and a large crowd of citizens, in an effort to obtain still greater sacrifices for the Confederacy.⁴⁴ Even as the convention took its seat in Jackson, Grant was moving a considerable part of his army around the Vicksburg forts to the country below, beginning the campaign that was to result in the destruction of Jackson and the occupation of Vicksburg.⁴⁵

The convention was even smaller than that of 1862, as only thirteen clergy, in addition to the bishop, were present, and but five of the forty-four parishes in the diocese were represented by lay delegates.⁴⁶

³⁹*Journal*, 1867, pg. 36.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, pg. 43.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, pg. 44.

⁴²*Ibid.*, pg. 45.

⁴³*C. M. H.*, Chs. VI and VII.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, pg. 101.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, pg. 135-ff.

⁴⁶*Journal*, 1867, pg. 44.

Most of the white males of the state were in the army.⁴⁷ In spite of the increasing seriousness of the military and political situation, or, perhaps, because of it, the incomplete picture of the life of the Church given by the twenty-two parishes reporting caused the committee on the state of the church some gratification.⁴⁸ Bishop Green reported that he had been kept by the presence of the enemy from visiting twelve organized parishes, "as well as several smaller ones."⁴⁹ Yet confirmations were 219, of whom thirty-nine were slaves⁵⁰—a drop of thirty-one. Contributions were down from \$11,708 to \$6,570.⁵¹

Feeling, perhaps, that the increasing strength of the forces centered on Vicksburg was bound to affect the situation at Jackson, only fifty miles to the east, the convention adjourned to meet the next year at Columbus, in the northeastern part of the state.⁵²

However, the convention of 1864 was the one meeting of the Church in the diocese which the war prevented. On April 28, 1864, the bishop wrote in his Journal, "This was the day on which our diocesan Council⁵³ was to meet in Columbus. But in consideration of the broken condition of our principal railroads, the general want of private conveyances, the absence from the diocese of many of the clergy as well as laity, and the occupation of a large portion of the State by the forces of the enemy, I took upon me the responsibility of postponing the time of our meeting to some future day when we might assemble with less to hinder and to make us afraid."⁵⁴

When the convention of 1865 met in Jackson, on May 4th,⁵⁵ it must have been apparent to all that the days of the Confederacy were numbered. In January, Nathan B. Forrest had been put in command of Confederate forces in the state, as well as in parts of Tennessee and Louisiana; but it was too late for even that indomitable campaigner to create an army, where there were no men, or to arm, feed, and equip the few troops he had, from a state and Confederacy well-nigh bankrupt.⁵⁶ The armies of Grant and Sherman had swept forward and backward over the state, until there was little of military importance left to interest the Federal army and few of the Southern forces available

⁴⁷*Journal*, 1867, pgs. 63-64.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, pg. 45.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, pg. 51.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, pgs. 45 and 51.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, pg. 45.

⁵²*Ibid.*, pg. 52.

⁵³One of the changes in the new constitution of the Confederate Church was to use the word council instead of convention. See Chesire's *Church in the Confederacy*, pages 42-43.

⁵⁴*Journal*, 1867, pg. 56.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, pg. 52.

⁵⁶*C. M. H.*, pgs. 223-ff.

to contend with them for it. And in Virginia, in April, Lee had surrendered at Appomattox.

In addition to the bishop, only eight clergy attended, and Jackson, Kirkwood, Brandon, Oxford, and Canton, alone were represented by lay delegates.⁵⁷ Twelve out of thirty-three clergymen canonically resident in the diocese were engaged in parochial duties, others had been forced to leave, to enter other work to support themselves, or were in the army.⁵⁸ The committee on the state of the Church deemed it "a cause of thankfulness to God that any of the clergy have been permitted to continue their ministrations."⁵⁹

Resolutions were passed referring to the deaths of Bishop Otey, who had served as provisional bishop of Mississippi and as first Chancellor of the University of the South, and of Bishop Polk, who had likewise served the diocese of Mississippi, before the coming of Bishop Green.⁶⁰

Aware, doubtless, of the imminence of the war's closing, the Rev. Dr. Thomas Savage⁶¹ in his report for the committee on the state of the Church wrote, "Though the cords of our Zion have not been lengthened, nor her stakes strengthened, during our present national struggle, yet she has been able to bear aloft, without wavering, under the Great Captain of salvation the banner of His Cross, and proclaim aloud to a wicked world, that the Lord is King, and will yet reign over Nations as He now reigns over Saints."⁶²

In November, Bishop Green attended the General Council at Augusta, Georgia, dissolving the organization of the Confederate Church, and giving each diocese liberty "to unite itself with any other Church organization which it might choose."⁶³ Bishop Green expressed the hope to the Mississippi convention of 1866, held in Jackson, in May, "that the very first act of this convention will be to return to that union with the 'Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States' from which it has been severed for the last five or six years by the force of political circumstances."⁶⁴

This the convention, consisting of seven clergy and the bishop,

⁵⁷*Journal*, 1867, pg. 52.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, pg. 53.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, pgs. 52-53.

⁶¹The Rev. Dr. Savage was one of the most interesting men ever to serve the diocese. He had been one of the first missionaries to the Episcopal mission in Liberia, and in Africa had discovered and named the gorilla (See article Gorilla, *Encyclopedia Britannica*), and in Mississippi had been a leader in developing diocesan schools, being forced by the war to relinquish his school at Pass Christian.

⁶²*Journal*, 1867, pg. 53.

⁶³*Ibid.*, pg. 65.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*

and lay delegates from Jackson, Oxford, Canton, and parish of the Redemption, Hinds County, did, in the following resolution: "Inasmuch as the causes which led to the withdrawal of the diocese of Mississippi from its ecclesiastical union, in a legislative capacity, with the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, no longer exist, therefore . . . our former relations with the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States are hereby renewed."⁶⁵

Due to the few members attending the conventions of 1865 and 1866, no diocesan statistics were given for those years in the *Abstracts* published with the proceedings of 1867. However the *Abstracts* give some clue as to the state of affairs. Bishop Green in his address to the convention of 1866, spoke of "the kind and cordial greeting" received from the "brethren" of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States,⁶⁶ and explained that he asked for the resolution restoring the diocese to its former connection with the Church in the United States, "to show the world that the Holy Catholic Church of Christ, however separated by political boundaries, is still one."⁶⁷ Northern dioceses were giving "liberal aid" in helping to restore the work of the Church in the South.⁶⁸

That there was still active Church life and spirit in the diocese is shown by the fact that the bishop reported "12 to 15 parishes and missions" calling on him, in 1866, for the services of a minister."⁶⁹ Yet the prospect was not a happy one, for he said, "The reduced number of our clergy, the destruction of some of our churches, the robbery and defacement of others, the general impoverishment of our people, and the total ruin of many, joined to the complicated claims, the embittered feelings, and the disregard of moral obligation naturally growing out of a protracted war; all this, with other causes . . . has thrown our Church several years back."⁷⁰

The poverty which the war brought to the diocese was one of the greatest burdens it had to bear. Whereas, in 1861, as already mentioned, the parishes had paid the diocese \$3,273.23, in the one year; the total amount available from parishes to pay the bishop's salary and other expenses, from 1861 to the convention of 1865, was only \$2,320.19.⁷¹ Some parishes had paid money to the bishop directly, on his visits during the war, yet the treasurer, in 1867, calculated that the diocese was behind on that item alone, \$2,037.70.⁷² In 1868, out of 45

⁶⁵*Journal*, 1867, pgs. 62-63.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, pg. 64.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, pg. 70.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, pg. 69.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, pg. 64.

⁷¹*Ibid.*, pg. 3.

⁷²*Ibid.*

parishes assessed by the diocese, only 19 paid anything, and only 6 were able to pay in full.⁷³

Not only was the salary of the bishop paid irregularly and in part, but in Sherman's destruction of Jackson, on the way to Vicksburg, his home was burned. "Everything belonging to him of earthly goods was at the same time destroyed. Every article of furniture in the house, and what was prized much more highly by him, his large and valuable library . . . was, in a few moments destroyed by the torch and he was left houseless and homeless—a wanderer through the diocese."⁷⁴

Throughout the war, however, the bishop continued his travelling over the diocese, going where he could, and by whatever means were available. Bishop Green's Journals for the war years are complete, and give in the best possible way a picture of the man and the times.

On June 20, 1861, the bishop set out from Jackson for Montgomery and the convention called by Bishops Polk and Otey. At Mobile, "and several other places in Alabama," the bishop officiated in his episcopal capacity, in the absence of a bishop in that Diocese. In September, he returned to Alabama on the invitation of the Standing Committee of that diocese, and he writes:

"In this work I was laboriously engaged until the meeting of our adjourned convention, in Columbia, South Carolina, on the 16th of October. During the ten days previous to that time I was occupied with the committee appointed in preparing a Constitution and Canons for the action of the Convention. . . . The Constitution which was there formed and proposed . . . I cordially approve. Whilst . . . I cannot but deeply regret that in giving a name or title to our new organization, one had not been chosen expressive of our Apostolic and Catholic character, in the place of that which seemingly ranks us as one among the many sects. . . . If any form or phase of Christianity on this Continent deserves the name of Catholic, or American Catholic, it is our own Anti-Roman, Anti-Sectarian Branch of Christ's Church."⁷⁵

At the mission Church of the Messiah, Shuqulak, located near the Alabama line, in the central part of the state, on December 8th, after the bishop had "preached, administered the Holy Communion, and baptized one child," he found, "that the disturbed condition of the country had withdrawn a large portion of the people from their homes," so he left his visiting and returned to Jackson.⁷⁶ At Panola [Batesville],

⁷³*Journal*, 1868, pgs. 32-33.

⁷⁴*Journal*, 1867, pg. 14-15.

⁷⁵*Ibid.*, pg. 38-ff.

⁷⁶*Ibid.*, pg. 40.

March 22, 1862, the bishop wrote, "At this place, as in most others, on this visitation, I found all things pertaining to the public worship of God compelled to yield, in a great measure, to the sterner calls of a less spiritual warfare."⁷⁷

Yet to the convention in April, Bishop Green was able to report, "Every organized parish, except one, has been visited; and several of them more than once. A few smaller places I have purposely omitted, knowing that the general excitement attendant on a state of war would, in a great measure, render fruitless any attempt to win attention to the gentler calls of the Gospel."⁷⁸

In the preceding December, Bishop Green reported he had declined to answer a letter from the Presiding Bishop of the Church in the United States, asking consent to the consecration of the assistant bishop of Pennsylvania, "not from any reluctance to testify to the worthiness of the Rev. Dr. Stevens, but because I considered our Confederate Church as *virtually* separated from that of the United States."⁷⁹ To the consecration of Bishop Wilmer of Alabama, he gave his "heartly consent."

In October, 1862, on a visit to Clinton, the bishop was forced to officiate in a school-room, "our own place of worship, as well as others, being filled with our sick soldiers."⁸⁰

On the way to the General Council at Augusta, in November, the bishop again stopped to do work in Alabama. "Owing to a want of connection between railroads and stages," he arrived a day late to the Council, and the next morning "was prostrated by a severe attack of pneumonia," which kept him in bed for two weeks and away from the meetings of the Council. He did not reach home until December 13th, and then "in feeble health."⁸¹

March 26, 1863, found the bishop in the Natchez country, at Christ Church, Church Hill, the oldest parish in the diocese. There he and the congregation joined in a day of national fasting, as requested by President Davis, and the bishop wrote, "I cannot refrain from expressing my thankfulness to Almighty God, the Ruler of Nations, for having raised up for us, in the hour of our need, a chief magistrate as manly in piety as he is sage in council, and valorous in arms. Among the many omens which have cheered our people in their present unequal struggle, none has so affected the heart of your bishop as the intelligence that our worthy President had openly professed his faith in

⁷⁷*Journal*, 1867, pg. 42.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, pgs. 42-43.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, pg. 44.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, pg. 48.

⁸¹*Ibid.*, pg. 49.

Christ, and laid himself with all his honors at His feet."⁸² As is well known, Mr. Davis, although baptized and reared in the Church, was not confirmed until the war years, in St. Paul's, Richmond.

The next month, April 17th, Bishop Green was at Vicksburg. He noted that:

"The progress of this parish has been much impeded by the state of siege and of constant alarm in which the town has been kept during a large portion of the past year. Although the Church has been open for the greater part of the time, and the attendance larger than usual, it has consisted chiefly of the officers and soldiers engaged in defence of the place. It is but reasonable to expect that a Church thus situated should share in the general stagnation or state of suspension imposed by this war on business of every kind. No place nor employment afforded security from the missiles of the enemy. Their bombshells greeted my entrance into the town, and continued during the three days of my visitation. During my stay I baptized, Saturday, 18th, an infant for one of the officers of our army."⁸³

On Thursday, May 14th, three weeks after the diocesan convention at Jackson, the forces of Grant and Sherman moved into that city from the south and southwest. On that day the bishop was at his home on the westward side of town, and he thus tells of the occasion:

"As my residence was immediately in front of the fortifications thrown up for the defence of the city, and was likely to receive the missiles of friends as well as foes, I left it when the roar of musketry indicated that my peaceful home was in a few moments to be converted into a field of battle. My thresholds, it is true, were spared the stain of blood; but theft and ravage, and wanton destruction marked every room in the house, and every article on the premises. My own books and papers received much injury; but I am happy in being able to state that every record of the least importance to the Diocese had been carefully kept out of the way of these destroyers. May God forgive them for all the evil which they did during the two memorable days which they spent amongst us."⁸⁴

After the Union army moved on toward Vicksburg, the bishop returned, and Sunday, May 31st, he "preached to the sick and wounded soldiers in a large room of the hospital near my residence."⁸⁵ He

⁸²*Journal*, 1867, pg. 50.

⁸³*Ibid.*, pg. 50.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, pgs. 53-54.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*, pg. 54.

preached to the soldiers again on June 7th and 14th. On July 6th, he was prevented from a visit to the Chapel of the Cross, Madison County, fifteen miles to the north, but that week "was compelled a second time to fly from . . . home before the approaching enemy, and seek a temporary refuge within the city." The next morning, amidst the roar of battle, and under a shower of shot and shell he set out with his family for Alabama. Several weeks were passed in Alabama, at Demopolis, with Mrs. Gaius Whitfield, during which time the bishop officiated in that diocese "frequently." Thence he returned to Oktibbeha County, Mississippi, and on November 1st, to Columbus, where he maintained his home for the duration of the war.⁸⁶

November 18th, Bishop Green visited Holly Springs, and he writes, "Five days were spent in this parish among the remnant of a late prosperous people. The footsteps of a barbarous foe might be traced in almost every dwelling, as well as in the resorts of business, and in the institutions of learning. Amidst these marks of a more than savage warfare it was hardly to be expected that the most sacred things or places would escape their violence. I was not, therefore, surprised to find that our place of worship had shared largely in the general ruin. Although much had been done before my arrival to cleanse it from the pollutions [*sic*] of the enemy, and to place it in a serviceable condition, it was still a place of small comfort to the little flock that clung to its altar, and hovered around their faithful Pastor."⁸⁷

Going from Holly Springs to La Grange, Tennessee, to visit a sister, the bishop was impressed by "the courtesy and even kindness of the Federal commander in charge of that place. Not only was free ingress and egress tendered to me, but permission granted to visit any of our parishes within the bounds of his command."⁸⁸ The bishop's plans to return to Early Grove, in the vicinity of Holly Springs, on the 29th, were of necessity changed "on the advice of friends" regarding "the lawless character of the enemy's troops in that immediate neighborhood."

In February, 1864, Bishop Green wrote:

"Having been favored by the commander of the enemy's forces then in possession of Vicksburg, with permission to visit any of the Parishes within the Federal lines, I set out on Saturday the 6th of February, to make my annual visitation of the counties lying on the river. On reaching Meridian I learned that the enemy, in full force were rapidly advancing on

⁸⁶*Journal*, 1867.

⁸⁷*Ibid.*, pg. 55.

⁸⁸*Ibid.*

that place. I deemed it prudent, therefore, to return home, and wait a more auspicious moment."⁸⁹

Sunday, May 22nd, he preached in Jackson, in the Senate chamber of the Capitol, which had "been kindly allowed for the use of the congregation since their Church was destroyed by the enemy."⁹⁰

Proceeding to Vicksburg, the bishop wrote:

"Wednesday, May 30th, I entered Vicksburg then in possession of the Federal authorities, and remained five days, during which time I visited all the Church families remaining in the place, and preached on Sunday, June 5th. Although I found most of the members of the Congregation in a depressed condition, it was no little gratification to see that the Church building remained in charge of its trusty old sexton, and was kept in its usual neat and orderly condition, whilst almost every other place of worship had been abused and polluted at the hands of the enemy. I feel bound to acknowledge here the courtesy with which I was treated during my stay, by the commanding general and his officers."⁹¹

Bishop Green was again in Jackson on June 13th, planning a trip through the southern part of his diocese when he was summoned by letter to Augusta, Georgia, for a meeting of the committee on the revision of the Prayer Book, set for June 22nd. He attended that meeting, which adjourned to meet again in December, at Savannah. While at Augusta, he took part in the funeral services for Bishop Polk. And, on Sunday, July 3rd, wrote in his journal that the day "together with the two preceding days, was spent with our army near Marietta. I was on that day to have confirmed two of our leading generals, but owing to the army's having fallen back on the day preceding, it was necessarily postponed."⁹²

In September, Friday the 16th, marked the observance of another of the days of "fasting, humiliation and prayer . . . in view of the critical condition of our country."⁹³ And in October, on the 2nd, was dedicated the only church building of the war, the Church of the Saviour, Osyka.⁹⁴

Of a visit to the parishes at Woodville and Natchez, in October, the bishop writes:

⁸⁹*Journal*, pg. 56.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*

⁹¹*Ibid.*, pg. 57.

⁹²*Ibid.*

⁹³*Ibid.*

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, pg. 58.

"Reached Woodville on Saturday, 8th, a few hours after the departure of a large raiding party [party] of the enemy. Visited several families in the afternoon . . . [October 13th] I entered Natchez, then garrisoned by a considerable force of the enemy. It was with difficulty that I gained admittance, but I must acknowledge the kind treatment which I received from the commanding general, after getting in. During the five days which I spent in the city, every facility was allowed me for the prosecution of my work. Most of the families in the place, and neighborhood were visited as usual. It was truly painful to witness their oppressed and impoverished condition, and the system of espionage to which they were so hourly subjected. But most of all was I grieved and mortified to see the scattered and dispirited state of that once flourishing congregation."⁹⁵

On Wednesday, November 16th, and on Friday, March 10, 1865, were observed two more days of prayer and fasting at the request of President Davis. Bishop Green was ill on the former date, and "was glad to engage for the occasion, the services of the Rev. Dr. Quintard, who was making a brief sojourn to Columbus."⁹⁶

Finally, with the exhausted forces of the Confederacy making their last desperate stand and the collapse of the Southern cause seemingly immediate and inevitable, Bishop Green stood before the diocesan convention on May 4, 1865, meeting in the city hall at Jackson, and said:

"We are met together at this time, brethren, in the midst of circumstances well calculated to humiliate as well as sadden our hearts. The ruthless invaders of our rights, and murderers of our sons seem about to be permitted, in the inscrutable providence of God, to fasten their yoke upon us. . . . But, beloved brethren, though we seem destined to be robbed of all else besides, there cannot be taken from us the consciousness that both, as clergy and laity, we have stood by our country from the beginning to the end of her noble struggle. Our duty now is, to bow as well as we can to what seems to be the present will of Him who holds in His hands the destinies of empires . . . let us try to withdraw our thoughts from the blood and rapine, and desolation that marks our land, and pray for the forgiveness of those who are rioting in the midst of the ruin they have created. . . . Our time is short, and fast hastening to an end. Let the things that now concern us so sorely, be as though they concerned us not. Wait patiently upon the

⁹⁵*Journal*, 1867, pg. 58.

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, pg. 59.

Lord, and he will bring it to pass. With my whole heart I commend you and my country to His guardian care."⁹⁷

On the same day the "last important surrender of the great war was made at Citronelle, Alabama," by General Richard Taylor, who had been joined by Forrest to make a little army of 8,000 men await the outcome of events in the east.⁹⁸ Thus the Confederacy died, and with it the Confederate Church.

As the Bishop's journals indicate, it had been a hard time for him. Never a strong man, the difficulties of ministering to a sprawling diocese, chiefly rural, in war-time, over-run by the enemies' forces and by brigands of no loyalty to either side, forced to travel by any conveyance at hand and in any kind of weather—all that would have been enough to break the heart of a lesser man, lacking the bishop's unlimited faith in the inevitable victory of Christ and His Church. Yet the bishop did not falter.

Adding to the difficulties of maintaining regular Church life in the diocese during the war, was the fact that many of the clergy enlisted in the army or were forced for one reason or another to leave their parishes. The Rev. M. Leander Weller, missionary at Hernando and Panola, and chaplain of the Ninth Mississippi Infantry,⁹⁹ was killed at Shiloh.¹⁰⁰ The Rev. Thomas Pickett, who was rector at Holly Springs after January, 1862, was away "a part of two summers in rendering service as chaplain in the armies of Generals Braxton Bragg and Joseph E. Johnston", and was with Johnston's retreat from Dalton to Atlanta.¹⁰¹ The Rev. Edward Fontaine, priest at Raymond and at the Church of the Redemption, Hinds county, enlisted and achieved the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.¹⁰² Others who enlisted were the Rev. John Charles Adams, Woodville;¹⁰³ and the Rev. Frederick Elwell, of Brandon and Clinton.¹⁰⁴ Others of the clergy were with the soldiers in camp or at hospitals much of the time, although not actually enrolled as chaplains, notably the Rev. F. W. Damus, Vicksburg,¹⁰⁵ and the Rev. Benjamin Miller, Church Hill.¹⁰⁶

So great was the movement of the parish clergy, that of the thirty-

⁹⁷ *Journal*, 1867, pg. 62.

⁹⁸ *C. M. H.*, pgs. 226 and 229.

⁹⁹ *Mississippi Official and Statistical Register*, 1908, pg. 582.

¹⁰⁰ *Journal*, 1867, pg. 43.

¹⁰¹ *Autobiography of Rev. James Thomas Pickett*, unpublished, uncataloged ms., Diocesan Library, Jackson, Miss., pg. 8.

¹⁰² *Staff Officers of the Confederate Army*, Government Printing Office, Washington, 1891, pg. 55.

¹⁰³ *Journal*, 1867, pg. 43.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pg. 51.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pg. 43.

three priests listed in 1861 as resident in the Diocese, twenty-one had left their churches by 1867, and actually only eight parishes had the same rectors at the end of the war that they had had at the beginning—and of those eight, none had enjoyed uninterrupted ministrations during that time. In 1863, Bishop Green reported to his convention that, “Our present list of clergy members is thirty-seven; but I am grieved to add that not more than two-thirds of them are actively and efficiently engaged in parochial labor.”¹⁰⁷

In addition to the clergy directly connected with the army, the Rev. George C. Harris was asked by Governor Charles Clarke, in September 1864, to arrange a meeting in Jackson of persons interested in the education and support of the orphans of Confederate soldiers. Bishop Green became chairman of the group when it met, and the result was considerable attention to the needs of those unfortunates.¹⁰⁸

The portions of the bishop's journals already given indicate the course and hardships of episcopal ministrations during the war period, while in the same journals, and in the reports of the parochial clergy and elsewhere, is ample evidence of the impact of the conflict on parish life.

Much of the Church life was of necessity carried on wherever the army happened to be, as the greater part of the male communicant strength was in the army. The bishop himself had three sons who enlisted.¹⁰⁹ On Thursday, October 16th, 1863, the bishop visited a hospital at Lauderdale Springs, “containing more than a thousand sick and wounded soldiers”, and preached on two days to them, adapting his discourse “to that train of thought most familiar to their minds.”¹¹⁰ On the 19th, at Marion Depot, he preached to soldiers again.

In April, of 1864, the bishop wrote in his *Journal*:

“In my own parlor I baptized and confirmed a soldier in the cavalry service, who had for some time earnestly desired thus to dedicate himself to God, and thankfully availed himself, for that purpose, of the few moments allowed to him as he passed through the place. The next day, 15th, he returned, bringing with him one of his fellow soldiers, whom I, in like manner, by baptism and confirmation admitted to the fellowship of Christ and His Church.”¹¹¹

Church property suffered everywhere in the diocese, whether simply through the neglect of poverty and the distractions of the time, as at Yazoo City, where the church building was pulled down as unsafe for

¹⁰⁷*Journal*, 1867, pg. 51.

¹⁰⁸*Confederate Mississippi*, Bettersworth, pgs. 335-337.

¹⁰⁹*Journal*, 1867, pg. 39.

¹¹⁰*Ibid.*, pg. 48.

¹¹¹*Ibid.*, pg. 56.

want of funds to restore it;¹¹² or, as at Jackson, where the church, as already mentioned, was burned by Northern troops. The war had hardly touched Mississippi when St. Paul's parish, Woodville, sent its bell off to Beauregard to be melted into cannon.¹¹³ At Holly Springs the Church was used as a stable by Union soldiers, the overturned altar serving as a trough in which to feed the horses, and the pipes of the organ used in leading a parade through the town.¹¹⁴ At Grand Gulf, Church life was ended altogether when "the town was entirely destroyed by the U. S. Army."¹¹⁵ In the minute-book of Christ Church parish, Church Hill, is a note indicating that services there were interrupted for most of the war, and that the building, in 1864, "was entered by a band of Yankee ruffians belonging to an Illinois regiment stationed at Natchez, who danced in the chancel, played lewd songs on the organ and wound up their sacrilege by stealing a part of the silver plate composing the communion service."¹¹⁶

In 1868, Bishop Green found St. Alban's Church, Bovina, "once beautiful indeed, but with nothing now to mark the spot but a heap of mouldering and broken stones,"¹¹⁷ and at Okolona he was forced to preach in a Methodist building "as ours has not yet recovered from the disastrous effects of the late war."¹¹⁸ St. John's Church, Lake Washington, likewise was "unfit to be occupied, having been so thoroughly defaced and defiled during the late war,"¹¹⁹ and to make matters worse the bishop, while clambering over the ruins, fell, and broke his arm. At Raymond, too, the bishop was forced to partake of hospitality offered by brethren of the Methodist flock in the use of their building, St. Mark's Church having been "robbed of its benches whilst used as a hospital."¹²⁰

Dr. Charles B. Dana, at Natchez, in 1866, found the parish "greatly depressed", with "many families . . . removed to other parts of the country, or . . . residing in Europe, while of these who remained in the city, comparatively few could do much to sustain the Church, and many had ceased altogether to attend."¹²¹ However, at Natchez, a quarrel between the parishioners and the previous rector had done as much as the war to set the parish back.¹²²

¹¹²*Journal*, 1867, pg. 60.

¹¹³*Parish Register*, entry of March 26, 1862.

¹¹⁴*The Church News*, Brandon, Miss., June, 1939.

¹¹⁵*Parish Register*, March 26, 1861.

¹¹⁶*Parish Register*, entry June 3, 1865.

¹¹⁷*Journal*, 1868, pg. 21.

¹¹⁸*Journal*, 1869, pg. 22.

¹¹⁹*Journal*, 1870, pg. 17.

¹²⁰*Journal*, 1867, pg. 19.

¹²¹*Ibid.*, pg. 26.

¹²²*Ibid.*, especially pages 58 and 65.

At Aberdeen, the congregation was scattered, and the church property "sadly out of repair."¹²³ The building at Corinth had been destroyed,¹²⁴ but by 1867, a new building, "22 x 40", had been built for \$800.¹²⁵ In 1866, a house belonging to the Baptists had been fitted up at Yazoo City as a church, for there "nothing was left of a once well-organized parish but the altar, Bible and Prayer Book, and plated communion service. The church and organ had been destroyed. The parish register has not yet been found."¹²⁶

Probably no place reported a gloomier situation than that of the parish of the Redemption, Hinds county:

"The families now all live between three and four miles from the place of worship, which was a small log house built during the war for temporary use. . . . The wretchedness of the roads, the want of conveyances, the absolute necessity of remaining at home to guard their homes from theft and robbery made the attendance of the few left in the desolated neighborhood very small and irregular. . . . This is one of the dark and desolate spots left in the destroying track of the armies of the United States, almost a wilderness, where in 1860, the fair and fertile region teemed with abundance, and a happy and contented population lived ignorant of oppression and want. White and black are now familiar with both."¹²⁷

Reference has been made to the fact that, in 1861, there were four schools over the state, in operation by the diocese, and a fifth in prospect, but these were all cut off by the war. Of that loss the bishop wrote in his journal, "Among the many evils which a desolating war brought upon our people there was none more sensibly felt than the breaking up of our schools."¹²⁸ In 1867, the diocesan committee on schools found no schools in operation under the control or ownership of the diocese, although the Rev. Albert Lyon was conducting as a personal enterprise a school for boys at Chatawa, and the Rev. Dr. Thos. Savage, assisted by the Rev. John Smedes, was doing the same thing at Pass Christian.¹²⁹

No part of the Church's work in the diocese of Mississippi was so grievously set back as the extensive work, long underway, with the negroes. As early as 1842, in the very earliest years of which there is left any diocesan record, Bishop Otey, then serving the diocese, baptized

¹²³*Journal*, 1867, pg. 29.

¹²⁴*Told me by the present rector, the Rev. Chas. G. Hamilton.*

¹²⁵*Journal*, 1867, pg. 33.

¹²⁶*Ibid.*

¹²⁷*Ibid.*, pg. 31.

¹²⁸*Ibid.*, pg. 70.

¹²⁹*Ibid.*, pg. 13.

118 colored persons on the Laurel Hill plantation of Dr. William Mercer, near Natchez.¹³⁰

Dr. Mercer maintained a missionary at Laurel Hill, nearly all of whose time was devoted to negro work. Dr. Thomas Savage had his first charge in the diocese on that plantation, and adjoining ones of Dr. Mercer, and his first report to the diocesan convention of 1848 gives an idea of the methods and extent of the Church's work with the ante-bellum slave:

"The undersigned has under his pastoral charge. . . . the negroes on three plantations, belonging to William N. Mercer, Esq., amounting to about four hundred souls. For their benefit he has held two services every Sunday afternoon, and during the week made on an average four visits to the plantations, conversing with the sick and giving such domiciliary instruction as the circumstances would permit. The Bible classes here reported are made up of adults, male and female, on the plantations, and are held immediately after services on Sunday afternoon . . . The Sunday Schools are for the children of the negroes, and are under the charge of Mrs. S. and the wives of the overseers."¹³¹

All plantations were not large enough or wealthy enough to support a resident missionary, but evidences that the same sort of work was general over the diocese are plentiful. From St. John's Church, Lake Washington, in the Delta, where Bishop Green found the Church building destroyed after the war, there came, in 1854, the report that "more than twelve hundred colored persons"¹³² were receiving religious instruction. Yet that was a small, rural parish with only twelve white families.

Bishop Green gave several accounts of his visits to plantations and the work with the slaves:

"Accompanied by Rev. Dr. Perry [Trinity Church, Natchez], I rode to 'La Grange', the residence of Mrs. Charlotte Griffith, eight miles from Natchez. Here I found, as I had two years since, that the faithful and untiring instructions of this lady, and her children, had prepared a number of her slaves for an intelligent and profitable reception of both baptism and confirmation. . . . I baptized three infants, and ten adults and confirmed twelve. As on the former occasion, so at this time, was I pleased to see that the 'sponsors' for the infant children, and the 'witnesses' for the adults, were their youthful

¹³¹*Journal*, 1847, pg. 36.

¹³²*Journal*, 1842, pg. 36.

master and mistress. . . . Over such a household the spirit of grace must delight to hover."¹³³

The next day at "Laurel Hill", Dr. Mercer's place, the bishop baptized fifty-four children from one of his plantations.¹³⁴

In the same year, 1860, near Okolona, Bishop Green consecrated St. Cyprian's Chapel and cemetery, built for their slaves by Dr. John E. Tucker and Major Duncan Hubbard.¹³⁵ On May 12th, 1861, in the Deer Creek neighborhood of the Delta, the bishop baptized forty-nine colored children, most of them belonging to William Yerger, Esq.¹³⁶

At the Chapel of the Cross, Madison county, on a Sunday afternoon before the war, the church was crowded, "by a throng of apparently eager listeners and devout worshippers," all colored. The bishop thus describes their participation in the Service:

"Every required response was promptly and correctly made. 'The confession' and 'Lord's prayer' and 'creed' were repeated distinctly and with one voice. And the anthems were chanted with a heartiness that might well put to shame the listless indifference with which many a congregation amongst us leaves that most beautiful and devotional part of our stated worship to a band of hired singers."¹³⁷

In July, 1860, the bishop confirmed twenty-seven slaves at St. Alban's parish, between Jackson and Vicksburg.¹³⁸ And during that year, the negroes on the plantation of Mrs. Raily, in Adams county, gave the Bishop "a handsome private Communion set".¹³⁹

And in 1861, on the eve of the war, the committee on the state of the Church reported that they, "cheerfully join our right reverend father in earnestly urging the obligation the church and masters are under to supply our colored population with proper facilities for their spiritual welfare."¹⁴⁰

As long as the affairs in the state were more or less uninterrupted by the conflict, the work with the negroes continued. On Easter Eve, 1861, fifty-four slaves were confirmed at St. Alban's Church, from T. Vaughn Noland's plantation.¹⁴¹ But with the confusion of conflict and the break-up of normal Church life the training of the colored people in the ways of the Church was hampered.

In 1866, the committee on the relations of the Church to the colored population referred to the "entire change" made in the social and

¹³³*Journal*, 1860, pgs. 44-45.

¹³⁴*Ibid.*, pg. 45.

¹³⁵*Ibid.*, pg. 32.

¹³⁶*Journal*, 37.

¹³⁷*Journal*, 1860, pg. 40.

¹³⁸*Ibid.*, pg. 57.

¹³⁹*Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰*Journal*, 1861, pg. 22.

political status of the colored population, and to their "growing attachment" to the Church, as shown by the steadily increasing number of communicants. Then the committee adds:

"But by the sudden change in their social and political relations, this interesting work has been almost entirely interrupted. The almost universal breaking up of old established relations,—the general disposition exhibited among them to change their locality, and especially to leave the country and collect in large cities . . . together with the unhappy influences of a class of foreign teachers, some of whom appear to make it their peculiar mission to engender in their minds sentiments of suspicion and distrust towards their former masters and spiritual guides—have all had a tendency to break up, in a great degree, their former spiritual relations, and in the excitement of their newly acquired freedom to lead them astray from the Church."¹⁴²

But the committee urged that the Church should not, therefore, throw off her responsibility, and give the negroes over to "the guidance of strangers who are ignorant of their constitution and character, or [leave] them to be led into error and fanaticism by the uninformed and self-appointed teachers of their own race."

The bishop, clergy, and laity did take up again the task of taking the Church to the negro, but as the committee's report indicates, it was an especially difficult task under the circumstances.

Something of the situation can be gleaned from the entry in the bishop's journal, early in 1865:

"I visited Diamond Place [near Vicksburg] on the 11th and 12th [Jan.], but did not preach, as most of the former servants, who had so often and so cordially greeted my arrival, had been enticed from their comfortable homes by their pretended friends. The temporary chapel in which I had so often officiated was a thorough ruin. The altar was overturned, and the only thing that remained entire to tell of its former sacred use, was the motto: 'Holiness to the Lord', which still spanned the broken chancel."¹⁴³

At Woodville, in April, 1866, the bishop addressed the negroes "on the responsibilities which had come upon them through their lately acquired freedom."¹⁴⁴ In 1868, the bishop spoke of the "poverty and suffering to which their imposed freedom had already reduced them," but he rejoiced, "that many of them are beginning to find their best advisers and protectors in their former masters; and are also gradually

¹⁴¹ *Journal*, 1861, pg. 42.

¹⁴² *Journal*, 1867, pg. 63.

¹⁴³ *Journal*, 1867, pg. 65.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pg. 67.

returning to the altars of the Church."¹⁴⁵ The year before, the bishop had referred to the confirmation of "one apparently devout colored woman . . . the first instance within my knowledge of one of that class asking for the ordinances of the Church, since a mistaken philanthropy wrenched them, with bloody hands, from the protection and instruction of those who cared for their souls, to throw them back into the ignorance and superstition of their forefathers."¹⁴⁶ And, in 1871, there is this entry in the bishop's journal:

"December 12th, preached in Satartia, and spent the three following days in the neighborhood under the roof of a beloved friend and sister, in whose yard there still stands a chapel, once crowded with her well-instructed servants, now scattered over the land, left to their own guidance, and worse than all, fast coming under the influence of a religious teaching as blasphemous as it is unscriptural. Before I left the house, I baptized three colored children, a remnant of . . . [a] former faithful and affectionate household."¹⁴⁷

The reports of the clergy respecting their work with the negroes gives a very similar impression. The Rev. Geo. C. Harris, as rector of the Chapel of the Cross, Madison County, reported:

"It is a fact worthy of note that it is now much more difficult for white men—no matter what their antecedents or where they came from—to teach these people than before the war."¹⁴⁸

He suggested "the admission of men of that color to the ministry . . . and trust the mercy of God to bless it."

Before that, from the predominantly negro Delta counties of Issaquena and Washington, Mr. Harris had reported the establishment of a "free school" for the negro children, and added:

"They are catechised weekly . . . [the] congregation has steadily increased. They have learned to recite the confession, the creed, the Lord's prayer, and a portion of the litany. . . . There are in the neighborhood many preachers of their own color, some of whom have renounced the Bible and claim direct inspiration for themselves, exercising a pernicious influence."¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁵ *Journal*, 1868, pg. 29.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pg. 18.

¹⁴⁷ *Journal*, 1871, pg. 55.

¹⁴⁸ *Journal*, 1868, pg. 62.

¹⁴⁹ *Journal*, 1867, pgs. 34-35.

Generally, where patience and intelligence were combined, the colored people were slowly won to the Church. Thus the Rev. G. S. Carraway, at Terry, in 1867, reported:

"On several occasions the church has been open for the freedmen, when their appreciation of the privilege has been shown by their large attendance. Many now worship with the white congregation, and in one instance some participated in the Holy Communion."¹⁵⁰

But in spite of constant and careful work since the unsettling time of war and Reconstruction, it is doubtful if the Church even now has been able to achieve the means and position of advantage to carry on successful labor with the blacks that it had in 1861 and before. The loss to the Church there is probably greater than the damage resulting from physical destruction of church property or the loss of wealth and numbers among white communicants, as great as both losses were.

Yet both the bishop and the committee on the state of the Church observed one real advantage to the Church from the conflict. Both commented on the increased respect of non-Episcopalians for the Church. "The prejudice, opposition, and misrepresentation which have hitherto been so rife in regard to our branch of the Holy Catholic Church, seem, to a great extent, to have given way," wrote the bishop.¹⁵¹ The committee on the state of the Church said it was perhaps due to the "devotion of our clergy to the soldiery", and to the fact, "that our unity has been preserved intact."¹⁵² Whether because of those factors or others, the number confirmed in the year ending April, 1868, was up to 332,¹⁵³ considerably above the average for previous years.

And though proportionally weakened in numbers (approximately 1 out of every 653 persons in the state being a communicant),¹⁵⁴ and with its members living in "utter impoverishment",¹⁵⁵ too poor to restore their broken churches, the diocese faced the new conditions with faith and hope, concerning itself with, "those things which are of supreme importance, the ingathering of souls into His mystical body, and the extension of His spiritual kingdom."¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁰*Journal*, 1867, pg. 34.

¹⁵¹*Journal of the General Convention*, 1868, pg. 319.

¹⁵²*Journal*, 1868, pg. 44.

¹⁵³*Ibid.*

¹⁵⁴Based on 1267 communicants. *Journal*, 1870, pg. 62; and *State population of 1870*, U. S. Census figures for 1870.

¹⁵⁵*Journal of General Convention*, 1868, pg. 319.

¹⁵⁶*Ibid.*

✓

GEORGE HODGES
POPULARIZER OF CHURCH HISTORY*

By James Arthur Muller†

FROM Taunton, England, came William Hodges, sea captain, to Boston, in 1633. Ten years later he settled in Taunton, Massachusetts. Eight generations later, in 1856, his descendant, George Hodges, was born. Through his mother George was also a descendant of Miles Standish and of John and Priscilla Alden; hence he was a member of that group of people some of whose ancestors really came over in the Mayflower.

Although seven generations of Hodges had lived in New England, George was born and reared in Rome, New York, whither his parents had moved. His mother died when he was six, and he came under the tutelage of a maiden aunt who, in order to "improve his mind," read aloud to him Gibbons' *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. This formidable introduction to history at the age of six was quite beyond him, but "he liked the sound of the words."

In his high school days at the Rome Free Academy, and during his college course at Hamilton, he read widely in English literature, history, and biography; and he early developed the terse, vigorous, simple English style for which he became noted in later life. "Use strong adjectives and few conjunctions," was an admonition of his English teacher in high school, which he never forgot. While in college he was editor of the *Hamilton Literary Monthly*, and was elected to Phi Beta Kappa. He had an article in the *Atlantic Monthly* the year he graduated.

Before his graduation he had come to the decision to study for the ministry, but he taught in a boys' school for a year after college, in order to earn money to do so. Although of Puritan ancestry, his mother had become an Episcopalian before his birth and he had been reared in the Episcopal Church. Yet it was not until sometime during his year of teaching that he felt sure that it would be the Episcopal min-

*In addition to the books mentioned in the text, this paper is based in part on personal acquaintance with the late Dean Hodges and his family, and in part on the admirable biography of him written by his widow, Julia Shelly Hodges, published by the Century Co. (New York, 1926).

†Associate Editor.

istry he would enter. He wrote to a friend that he had thought much "about the vexed problem of denominationalism." "I have come," he said, "to feel that the preacher's work lies above and outside of all denominations. . . . I feel that what my own church needs to get her awake and to break down her barriers of exclusiveness, is simply men who will try to do in their own small parishes and with their own small powers the kind of work which Dean Stanley, Charles Kingsley, Frederick W. Robertson, Dr. Tyng, and Phillips Brooks have been doing for the church at large. Nothing is more needed in the Episcopal Church than liberal, tolerant thought; devout earnestness; men who believe in the eternal preciousness of human souls above all formalism." He had come to the conclusion that there was work for him to do in his own church.

"Yale is the best theological school in the country," he wrote in 1878, and announced his intention of going there; but his bishop, Frederick Dan Huntington, induced him to enter his newly opened and short-lived school in Syracuse. Hodges described it thus: "The School consists of five students—three seniors and two juniors. The middle class, whose name was Bigelow, has gone elsewhere." He found it, he said, "a quiet place to work," with "a few good teachers to suggest methods of reading, and a devotional atmosphere." The best of the teachers was Dean Jennings, who might be expected to come into the house at any hour of day or night and shout up the back stairs, "Hodges, want to come down and take a lecture?" Hodges not only took Dr. Jennings' lectures, he also took his daughter, to whom he became engaged in the following summer. Two years later he married her.

At the end of one year at Syracuse he had taken all the lectures supposed to serve for a three-year course. He then moved on to the Berkeley Divinity School, at Middletown, Connecticut, whence he graduated two years later. Here he read Charles Kingsley and Frederick Dennison Maurice and so admired them that they became the models of his own ministry. He was diligent with his Greek Testament; he kept up reading in German; he used his Latin in his study of Church History by translating a hitherto untranslated work of Gerson *On the Consolations of Theology*. In the summer after his middle year he read twenty-six books, among them Froude's *Bunyan*, Symond's *Shelley*, Taylor's *Loyola*, Coleridge's *Keble*, and Clark's *Savonarola*.

During his seminary days he rose at 6.30, went to bed at 11.00, and had an allotted hour for each of the day's duties between. Such systematization of time became habitual with him. In his *Pursuit of Happiness*, written when he was fifty, he said: "People are worn out not by the things which they do, but by the things they do not; the

calls which are not made, the books which are not read, the stitches which are not taken, the letters which are not begun—these are the evil spirits which give us sleepless nights. Not one of them can live in an atmosphere of regulation. They flee before a systematic ordering of life as mice flee before the cat. The wise man who desires serenity and satisfaction will set about achieving them in the same sensible fashion in which he undertakes the erection of a house. He will draw up specifications. . . . It means a clear understanding between the clock and the conscience."

To such an understanding Hodges came early in life.

On graduation from seminary in 1881 he became the assistant to Boyd Vincent, rector of Calvary Church, Pittsburgh. In 1887 he was made associate rector, and, early in 1889, when Vincent became Bishop of Southern Ohio, rector. Calvary was the leading Episcopal Church in Pittsburgh, with a communicant list of 800, and two mission chapels in other parts of the city.

Hodges at the beginning of his rectorship was 32 years old. He was short of stature, quiet in manner, wholly without any of the "strut" which short people who think themselves important sometimes affect. Although he had a genial twinkle in his eye and a kindly smile, he was by no means handsome. Most people thought him plain. He agreed with them. Twenty-five years later, when his portrait was presented to the theological school over which he then presided, he looked at it quizzically and said: "I have seen this picture all too often, and whenever I look at it I agree with Oliver Wendell Holmes that a face is not an ornament but a convenience."

He had, however, qualities of mind and character which inevitably made him a leader. "He is," said Bishop Whitehead of Pittsburgh, "unwearied in labors, full of new methods, . . . with a rare faculty for getting on with men, original in thought, a most interesting preacher." The outstanding Roman Catholic priest in the city, Morgan M. Sheedy, who began by suspecting Hodges of trying to proselytize Roman Catholic children, ended by praising him publicly for his "catholicity of mind and heart" and for his work in tearing down the wall of bigotry which separated Catholics and Protestants. Sheedy became one of Hodges' most enthusiastic helpers in every venture for the good of the community, saying: "I have never met a man more resourceful in ideas and in practical means to carry out his ideas for social betterment."

Social betterment was the keynote of much of Hodges' ministry in Pittsburgh. He was the founder of Kingsley House, a social settlement modeled after Toynbee Hall in London and Hull House in Chicago; he was behind every effort for civic reform during the years

of his rectorship; his sermons of that period furnish one of the best presentations of the social gospel in American literature. In one volume of them, *The Heresy of Cain*, we find such titles as "The Gospel and Poverty," "The Church and the Labor Movement," "Business and Religion," "Our Duty to Caesar," "War and Politics." It was in this volume that the sermon, "New Quests for New Knights," appeared. It had been preached to the Tancred Commandery of the Knights Templar. The text was from II Samuel 23: 11-12: "And the Philistines were gathered together into a troop, where was a plot of ground full of lentils; and the people fled from the Philistines. But he stood in the midst of the plot, and defended it, and slew the Philistines, and the Lord wrought a great victory."

"The Philistines," said Hodges, "were gathered together into a troop. . . . The people of Israel, on the other hand, were disorganized, destitute of discipline, and thus able to make but a scattering and ineffective fight. And the natural consequence was that the people fled. . . . The People of God . . . if they are ever to accomplish reformation and betterment, must be gathered together into a troop. . . .

"Take the bad business, which is notorious all over this country, of municipal government. It is that old fight over again. The Philistines are gathered together into a ring. The good people who oppose them in the interest of honest administration . . . are without discipline, without organization, without agreement. And the people flee. . . .

"A city is only another form of a great office-building, . . . in which the streets are the halls and stairways and our dwellings are the rooms. And a city ought to be, and can be, managed as well as any office building. . . .

"All honor to the brave men of the crusades, . . . who counted their lives as nothing that they might free the Holy City from the dominion of the infidel! Where is the Holy City of our day? It is New York; it is Boston; it is Pittsburgh. . . .

"That old fight in the field of beans was turned, after all, into a victory. The people fled; yes, but not all. There stood one 'in the midst of the plot, and defended it, and slew the Philistines. . . .'

"God makes great use of minorities. Every good cause begins in the heart of one good man. Sometimes he goes on unhelped and unbefriended. Nevertheless, though alone, on he goes, and stands up face to face with the Philistines, determined, brave, persistent. . . . 'Though their bodies be of furnace flame, and their swords keen as forked lightning, yet will I stand my ground!' That is what the good Knight Tancred said. . . .

"The task of the knight of the nineteenth century is, as of old, the rescue of a city. But our Jerusalem is the city where we live."

Some of the listening Knights Templar wrote letters of protest, saying that they had come to church to hear religion preached, not politics; but this and other sermons like it coupled with Hodges' genius for getting people of all faiths working together, had results. Sometime after the end of his Calvary Church ministry a prominent Pittsburgh layman, H. D. W. English, summed it up thus:

"Calvary men and women, under Dr. Hodges, began to take an interest in the city and its affairs. . . . It was not long before the political powers that controlled the city called us 'that Damned Calvary Crowd.' We elected one of our vestry, the Honorable George W. Guthrie, mayor . . . we elected our senior warden to Congress, we elected another vestryman to be judge of the Orphans' Court. Under Mayor Guthrie an organization was formed called "The Voters League" . . . which cleaned up graft in the Councils, putting eighteen councilmen in the penitentiary . . . as well as a number of bankers, and brought about a new charter for the city.

"Mayor Guthrie [and two other Calvary laymen] were sponsors for the famous 'Pittsburgh Survey'—the greatest social survey ever made of a city. . . . Mayor Guthrie appointed . . . a Civic Commission to carry out many social reforms suggested by the survey. The graft trials, the Survey, the Civic Commission, would need a volume for each. . . ."

Mr. English goes on to say that when Hodges was called elsewhere he begged him to stay, saying "that few men had the unique privilege of ministering to and influencing the social conscience of an entire city."

Vital as Hodges was to the social conscience of Pittsburgh, that was not his sole concern. He was an indefatigable pastor, a skilled director of the religious education of the children of his parish, a protagonist of church unity. Nor were his sermons by any means confined to matters of social service. He had a rare gift for popular presentation of both theology and church history.

It was his custom to give a yearly course of six or eight sermons on Church History at Sunday evening services. In October of 1889, for instance, his parish paper carried this announcement:

"The Church History lectures will begin again on the first Sunday evening of this month and continue during October and November. The following are the titles:

- I. The Beginning of the Middle Ages
- II. The Popes and the Emperors
- III. The Crusades

- IV. Doctors and Schoolmen
- V. Friars in Brown and Black
- VI. The Priests and the People
- VII. The Story of the Inquisition
- VIII. Before the Reformation"

In other years he would speak on the Reformation, or the Puritan Movement, or the Wesleyan Revival, or the Church in America. And there was always a crowded church to hear him.

In June, 1893, he was elected Bishop Coadjutor of Oregon. He declined. In October of the same year he was elected Dean of the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge, Massachusetts. He accepted, and began his work in Cambridge in January, 1894. It was said of him that "he left Pittsburgh the most influential and admired Christian minister in Western Pennsylvania." He had been there twelve and a half years. He was to be just twice that time in Cambridge.

Although of New England ancestry, he had never lived in New England. Not long after his arrival in Cambridge, he wrote to a Pittsburgh friend: "These Boston people don't warm up to you—but they sometimes freeze on to you."

In addition to his duties as dean, he was also professor of homiletics and pastoral care. In these fields he brought to the school a rich fund of experience which he was able to impart with such clarity and quiet humor that the graduates of twenty-five classes carried into their own parish work his methods and ideals.

As for preaching, his advice was:

"Have something to say and then say it."

"Preach so that the wife of the sexton can understand you as well as the wife of the senior warden."

"The ideal sermon is a single important thought, stated, proved, illustrated, and applied."

"Beware of somnolent delivery. Anyhow preach as if *you* thought it a good sermon."

"Choose good texts that will arouse attention and clinch your message . . . for example when you want to preach on the Religious Responsibility of Men, take Matthew 20:20: 'Then came to Him the mother of Zebedee's children with her sons'—but where was Zebedee?"

"Do not let yourself imagine that you are working very hard. Never have any idle moments. A minister should be ashamed to be found doing nothing."

"Be systematic in the employment of time. This is the open secret of success."

He cited the fisherman as an example for the minister:

"One of the ministerial virtues of the fisherman is his patience. He casts his hook and waits. Another ministerial virtue of the fisherman is his preference for difficulty. He is interested in the elusive fish which hides among the rocks and views the bait with sophisticated indifference. . . . The fisherman . . . makes use of variety. . . . He knows that while some fish like worms, others prefer frogs, and others flies. . . . He has no theory of a standard fish-food which the fish must take or leave. Still less is he disposed to infer the fishes' appetite from his own, and to offer as bait the sort of thing he himself had for breakfast—one of the commonest errors of the clergy. His question is, What will the fish take? And he finds the answer by continual experiment."

His life in Cambridge, busy as it was, gave him more time, or perhaps more stimulus for writing than he had had in Pittsburgh. His historical publications began in 1901 with a short life of William Penn in the Riverside Biographical Series. This was followed in 1904 by *Fountains Abbey, The Story of a Medieval Monastery*. The same year he contributed a chapter on "The Battle of Quebec and What it Meant," to a volume by several authors entitled *Stepping Stones in American History*. Then in 1906 came *Three Hundred Years of the Episcopal Church in America*, issued in anticipation of the celebration of the tercentenary of the landing at Jamestown. This was probably his most widely read book, certainly his most widely read historical book, 24,444 copies being sold within a year of its publication. In 1907 appeared *Holderness, An Account of the Beginnings of a New Hampshire Town*; and in 1909 *The Apprenticeship of Washington and Other Sketches*. This contained four studies besides that for which the book was named: "The Hanging of Mary Dyer" (a magnificent chapter in the history of the struggle for religious toleration, magnificently told), "The Adventures of Captain Myles Standish," "The Education of John Harvard," and "The Forefathers of Jamestown."

It is in this last that Hodges, after noting two or three reasons why Plymouth has commanded more attention in our histories than Jamestown, adds: "The chief and prevailing disadvantage of Jamestown in its competition with Plymouth for the gratitude of good Americans lay in the fact that it was so far away from Boston. It was unhappily beyond the powers of any Jamestown man to repeat the daily devotions of Mr. Emerson, who said that every morning when he opened the shutters of his bed-chamber and looked out, he thanked God that he lived in so fair a world—and so near Boston."

In the same essay he indulges in this thrust at certain contemporary biographers:

"The only presupposition which some writers seem to permit themselves is the general proposition that all the persons whom we used to

think were good were really bad, and those we used to revere as saints were really sinners like ourselves. . . . It has been predicted that we shall presently discover that Nero, instead of fiddling while Rome burned, played a violin at a concert given for the benefit of the sufferers."

In 1911 and 1912 appeared two volumes of biographical sketches: *Saints and Heroes to the End of the Middle Ages* and *Saints and Heroes since the Middle Ages*. The first begins with Cyprian, the second ends with Wesley, and there are thirty-two others between. They were written primarily for young people, but may be read with profit by their elders. For anyone who would attempt to give biographical talks, whether to children or to grown-ups, they are models of arrangement, emphasis, and the use of illustrative incident. They were followed in 1915 by *The Early Church from Ignatius to Augustine*, still one of the best books to arouse the interest of a beginner in Church History. In the same year, came a full length biography: *Henry Codman Potter, Seventh Bishop of New York*, and finally, in 1917, the chapters on "The Episcopalians" in *The Religious History of New England*, a volume by eight different authors.

All of these books were popular in the sense that they were delightfully written and easily read. "George Hodges," said Professor Roland H. Bainton of Yale recently, "was the best popularizer of Church History we have ever had." If, however, we infer from the word popular that these books were hastily thrown together, careless, inaccurate, or based merely on secondary material, we are mistaken. Hodges made no pretense of being a trained historian, nor did he teach history, but he knew the work of the best historians, he submitted his manuscripts to his historical colleagues for criticism, and his first-hand knowledge of that whereof he wrote might well put to shame some of us who imagine we are historians.

Before he began the life of William Penn, he acquainted himself with Penn's works and letters, with contemporary as well as more recent biographies. When he wrote the early history of Holderness, New Hampshire (where he had a summer home), he consulted the town records, the early maps and charters, and the State Papers of New Hampshire. This familiarity with source material is found in everything he wrote on the colonial period of American history. It was but slightly less so in other fields. When in *The Early Church* he discussed the Letters of Ignatius or the Meditations of Marcus Aurelius or the Confessions of Augustine, he did so on the basis of his own reading of these books. Where he had to depend on others he chose the best of contemporary works and used them with care and discretion.

When he wrote *Fountains Abbey* he was at Fountains Abbey. He

studied the ruins; he read the archaeological conclusions of W. H. St. John Hope, and the Abbey records published by the Surtees Society. He consulted other medieval Cistercian material. His life of Bishop Potter is based wholly on first hand sources and, on all counts, compares favorably with the best of modern biography.

What made his work popular was, in addition to his terse, direct, vigorous English, his gift of simplification, his orderly presentation, his ability to seize on the significant and pass over the less relevant, his discerning, yet kindly judgment, his instinctive use of illustrative incident that was full of human interest, his broad sympathy which enabled him to interpret fairly the Puritan, the Churchman, the Quaker, and the Romanist, and, above all, his sense of humor.

Only the examination of one of his books as a whole, or at least of a chapter of one, can reveal the way in which he selected, arranged, or presented his material; but a brief quotation or two may give some inkling of his manner if not of his method. When, in *The Early Church*, he tells why men in the fourth century became monks, he says, among other things: "They fled from the world, which in the first century was believed by Christians to be doomed, and liable to be destroyed by divine fire . . . and which in the fourth century was believed by Christians to be damned; it belonged to the devil. They fled also from the church, which they accused of secularity and hypocrisy. Many of the monks were laymen, who in deep disgust had forsaken the services and sacraments. . . . They were men who had resolved never to go to church again."

When he comes to Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus he observes that "Cappadocia, the district from which these two men came, had an unsavory reputation in the contemporary world. . . . Men who had their residence in more favored regions liked to tell how a viper bit a Cappadocian and the viper died."

He opens his chapter on Augustine thus:

"In the congregation of St. Ambrose at Milan, in the latter part of the fourth century, there was a young man with whom many persons are better acquainted than with some of their intimate friends. He wrote an account of his life, in which he set down with exceeding frankness not only what he had done, but what he had thought. And this account remains to this day. It is the earliest of autobiographies. Here, for the first time since the world began, did a man write a book about himself. Even now, after these fifteen hundred years, it is still the best of such books."

After telling something of Augustine's early life, he comes to his Neo-platonic period:

"It is a curious fact that at this moment, as he was committing himself to a career which demanded first purgation, then illumination, then separation from the world, Augustine looked about with deliberate prudence for a rich wife. He had proposed to establish a little community of philosophers. . . . But such a community must have a financial basis. . . . So he proposed to improve his condition by marrying money. A young woman was found who on her side was willing to undertake the perilous adventure of marrying philosophy. . . . Thereupon Augustine discarded his true wife, the mother of his son, who had lived with him for thirteen years. She was his wife, saving only the formulas of church and state. But he put her away, keeping his son, sending her back to Africa. And to these transactions the good Monica gave her approval.

"We are following the frank story of the 'Confessions,' saying to ourselves, How contemporary it all is! and of a sudden we come upon such an incident as this, and we perceive that after all we are dealing with a Roman African, in the end of the fourth century. Happily, the conversion of Augustine to the Christian religion put a stop to all further matrimonial progress."

When telling of the French and Indian war in his history of Holderness, he remarks that the period of it which included the capture of Louisburg furnished no material for Holderness history, but adds that he "cannot forbear to quote the comment on that extraordinary victory, which Dr. Belknap cites from an old writer. 'This siege,' he says, 'was carried on in a tumultuary random manner, resembling a Cambridge Commencement.'"

In his chapters on the Episcopalians in *The Religious History of New England*, after referring to the objections raised by Bishop Eastburn to the cross and candles placed on the communion table of the Church of the Advent in Boston in 1844, he adds: "The bishop refused to visit the parish for confirmation till the offensive ornaments were removed, and the rector and vestry refused to remove them. Each side exhibited that perseverance of the saints which in sinners is called obstinacy."

The following description of Chrysostom as a preacher, again from *The Early Church*, is not only a sample of Hodges' crisp English, it is something of a portrait of Hodges himself:

"He was a small, slender . . . man, without even the assistance of a strong voice. But what he said was clear and definite; nobody could mistake what he meant; he had emotion, he had humor, he had sympathy, he had passion. . . . And he addressed himself straight to common life."

No unimportant element in Dean Hodges' popularity as a historian was his popularity in other fields. He had attained a nation-wide reputation as a civic reformer and as a preacher before he published any historical work. His reputation as a preacher and lecturer continued to grow after his coming to Cambridge; he was in perpetual demand in churches and colleges from one end of the country to the other. And his books in other fields than history reached an ever widening public.

Nine historical volumes have been mentioned. In addition to these he published twenty-five in other fields; a total of thirty-four books in thirty-five years, from 1884, the date of his first, till his death in 1919. He contributed chapters to others, was joint author of three more, joint editor of fourteen school readers, and author of at least fifty articles in *The Atlantic Monthly*, *The Ladies' Home Journal*, *The Outlook* and *The Homiletic Review*.

"When you meet anyone on the street here in Cambridge," he said in one of his talks welcoming new men to the theological school, "don't say, 'How do you do?' say, 'How's your book?' Everybody's writing a book." He might have added that there were few if any, even in Cambridge, who were writing as many as he.

His non-historical books included sermons, essays, confirmation instructions, books on the Bible, and Bible stories for children. The sale of his life of Christ for young people, entitled *When the King Came*, reached almost 28,000 copies. He was not only a popularizer of Church History; he was a popularizer of the Social Gospel, of the Bible, of theology; and his reputation in one field helped to gain him a hearing in others.

The wonder is, how he found time for it all. It has been answered, truly enough, that he did not *find* time, he made it. He was the incarnation of order and industry, and he had the happy ability to concentrate on an appointed task at an appointed hour without being disturbed by anticipation of what was coming next or shadow of what had just been left.

He was also economical of his matter, using it again and again in sermon or lecture, till it was ready for publication. In the preface to *The Early Church*, published in 1915, he tells us that the book was begun seven years before as a series of Lowell Lectures, in Boston, given without manuscript. They were repeated thus in five other places. Then in 1913 four chapters were written out for a series of lectures at Kenyon College and one for a lecture at Ann Arbor, Michigan. In 1914 four more were written for delivery at the Berkeley Divinity School, and finally all were repeated at a summer conference in California.

His books for children and young people, such as his *Saints and Heroes*, were first written for his own children, of whom he had five. Two of the historical books, *Fountains Abbey* and *Holderness*, were summer diversions. He hardly enjoyed a vacation unless a book came out of it.

Two years before his death he wrote an article for *The Homiletic Review*, on Archbishop Cranmer. You may not agree with his characterization of Cranmer, but whether you do or not, you would recognize Hodges himself, had you known him, in this characterization:

"He was an open-minded, friendly person, whose preference was for agreement rather than disagreement, and he saw that there was good on both sides. . . . He had the humble mind of the wise scholar. . . . He perceived that the conservatives were right: the men of the new learning parted with him at that point. He perceived also that the progressives were right: the men of the old learning declined to go with him down that road. This perplexing situation was further complicated by the fact that he perceived himself to be liable to error. He changed his mind. . . .

"The consequences were bad for Cranmer, but they were good every way for the Book of Common Prayer. This gift of sympathy made it an inclusive book. . . .

"Cranmer's spirit . . . has not always prevailed in the counsels of the Anglican Church. It was forgotten when high churchmen were turned out in the days of Elizabeth, and when low churchmen were turned out in the days of Charles II. But there have always been some to remember it, and there are now many such—comprehensive churchmen, of whom it can be said that the Kingdom of God is within them, for the unity of the contending churches is realized already in the hospitality of their own souls."

DOCUMENTARY HISTORY

Why Dr. Francis Lister Hawks Declined His Election as First Missionary Bishop of the Southwest

By Walter Herbert Stowe

ON Thursday, September 1, 1835, the last day of the session of General Convention of that year, the House of Bishops nominated "the Reverend Francis L. Hawks, D. D., as a Bishop of this Church to exercise episcopal functions in the State of Louisiana, and in the Territories of Arkansas and Florida:—and the Reverend Jackson Kemper, D. D., as a Bishop, to exercise episcopal functions in the States of Missouri and Indiana."¹ On the same afternoon, the House of Deputies "unanimously concurred" in the nomination of each gentleman, thereby completing the election.²

The Journal further states: "The Rev. Dr. Hawks being present, signified to the House his willingness to accept of the appointment, provided provision were made to his satisfaction, for the support of his family."

The specific grounds of his final declination of the election have not been fully known to later generations. But now, fortunately, through the gift to the Church Historical Society of a valuable collection of letters, originally in the possession of Bishop William White, the Presiding Bishop at that time, and handed down through his family to his descendant the Reverend Dr. James A. Montgomery, the present donor, we have the reasons from Dr. Hawks himself in two letters to Bishop White shortly before his intended consecration on the 25th of September, 1835. Dr. Hawks wrote a beautiful hand and his letters are as easy to read today as they were over one hundred years ago.

¹*Journal of General Convention, 1835, p. 111.*

²*Journal, ibid., p. 82.*

DR. HAWKS TO BISHOP WHITE

New York Sept. 16, 1835

Right Rev. and dear Sir,

I received yours this morning, informing me that you had appointed the 25th instant for the consecration, and I have written to Dr Kemper to apprise him of the fact. I am sorry to be obliged to add that in my own case there are difficulties on the subject of a support for my family which compel me to pause. The Church at New Orleans demands as a condition of its aiding my support, duties which, in the view of our bishop here³, of Dr Milnor⁴, & others, as well as of myself, are utterly incompatible with the purposes which the Church had in view in my appointment. She, the New Orleans Church, requires *at the least* 5 months of my time in her service in the City of N. Orleans. Now when it is remembered that 7 months is about the extent of time in which I could labour in that country, that the only time for travelling is the winter, just when they want me, that my district of country has already seven churches scattered over a territory larger than all England, Scotland & Wales, and that there are probably seven other spots in which the Church might be planted, I confess I do not see how I am to answer the views of the Church as a *missionary bishop*, and remain 5 months in N. Orleans. I know the country and the difficulties of travelling in it. Between some of the stations in Florida, there are seven days hard travel, part of it thro' a wilderness where my only bed must be the ground, with the sky for my covering. Now from all this travel & fatigue I will not shrink; but let me have for it the blessed thought that, like an apostle of old, I am labouring from place to place to plant the Church of the redeemer—let me be a missionary indeed; not the minister of Christ Church N. Orleans.—I am ready to go, but it must be to do what the Church sent me for.—

By the advice of our Bishop and the brethren here, I must at least delay the consecration. The executive Committee of the Domestic department of our Board of Missions, which you will remember is placed here, will unanimously recommend to me not to be fastened to N. Orleans—it defeats the whole object. All I want is to see competent & permanent provision made for my wife & children: this was the only condition which I annexed to my acceptance. Why, the time allowed me, if I give 5 months to New Orleans, would not enable me to visit the Florida stations alone. One of them (Key West) is within 60 miles of the Island of Cuba, and I must go to sea to visit it—there are about 700 miles between the most eastern & western stations, on land, in that territory alone; and seven hundred miles farther west would not take me to the

³Dr. Benjamin T. Onderdonk, Bishop of New York.

⁴The Rev. James Milnor, D. D., rector of St. George's Church, New York City, and secretary of the Foreign Committee of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society.

extremity of my ground on the Red River where a church can be planted. To do any good I must be free to go just when & where circumstances call me. I do not blame the Church of New Orleans—I have anticipated this difficulty all along, & mentioned it before the election—N. Orleans cannot & ought not to pay me for services which I cannot render.

I hope that Providence will yet make all things plain & open the door for whatever is best for the Church. To his wisdom and goodness I cheerfully leave it, content to do according to his will.—Commending myself to your counsels and your prayers, I am with all the affection of a son,

Right Rev. & dear Sir,
most truly your serv^t in Christ
Francis L. Hawks.

DR. HAWKS TO BISHOP WHITE
New York Sept. 23. 1835

Right Rev. & dear Sir,

It is with the utmost regret I write to say that no satisfactory provision for my family, which will leave me free to perform the duties of a missionary bishop, has yet been made.

Under these circumstances, I must decline being consecrated, as the condition of my acceptance was that such provision should be made.

I have been given to understand that to disregard the necessities of my wife & children, nay, to feed them "on pars-nips & water" is *piety*; it may be so, but I do not believe it is humanity, which always struck me as being one of the fruits of true *piety*.—

Referring you my dear sir, to my own bishop, and my good friend Dr Kemper for further information in this matter, I am most respectfully & truly

Your son & serv^t
F. L. Hawks.

At the General Convention of 1838 the Rev. Leonidas Polk of Tennessee was elected, and in December of that year consecrated, first Missionary Bishop of the Southwest, which jurisdiction he held until his translation to the diocese of Louisiana in 1841.

BOOK REVIEWS

Later Episcopal Sunday Schools. By Clifton Hartwell Brewer, B. D., Ph. D.
Morehouse-Gorham Co. 1939.

Six years ago Dr. Brewer published his work on Early Episcopal Sunday Schools bringing the story down to the year 1865. Now comes a welcome addition picking up the thread and bringing it up to date. He traces the development of the Sunday School movement in this Church glancing at the time when it was frowned upon until the period when it was officially recognized. Among other chapters are those dealing with Lesson Manuals and material; School Libraries and Sunday School Magazines, and withal a valuable Bibliography. The two Books combined afford a comprehensive review of the work of Religious education, and are not likely to be superseded in the near future.

From Strachan to Owen. How the Church of England Was Planted and Tended in British North America. By Wm. Perkins Bull. The Perkins Foundation.
George J. McLeod, Ltd. Toronto, Canada. Pp. 495.

The Church of England in Canada is to be congratulated on having one of the most distinguished lawyers in the Dominion, and a prolific historical writer, take the time and trouble to sketch the History of an important period in Canadian Church life. It is a model account inasmuch as it bases the general history of the Church on the life and work of the parishes, and fully demonstrates that the life of the nation and the Church were so closely intertwined that the story of the one, is the story of the other. Beginning with the advent of the American Loyalists who flocked to Canada during the War of the Revolution and founded the Anglican Church in Nova Scotia, it traces the growth of the Church in Upper Canada with a wealth of detail and not a little dry humor. Strachan, the leading figure in the book, was the son of an Aberdeen mason working in a granite quarry, and came to Canada in 1799 and was ordained by the Bishop of Quebec in 1803. In his first parish some were Roman Catholics; many Lutherans, with "plenty of Presbyterians"; a "few Methodists" and most "no religion at all." In this unpromising constituency "the sturdy little rector" did great work. His qualities were many-sided. He was well educated, a devoted parish priest; a tireless worker; a shrewd judge of men, and a born politician; so unconventional and so uncompromising that he was viewed with something like suspicion by his ecclesiastical superiors. In the course of time they came to recognize his sterling worth and in 1839 he was consecrated to the new see in Upper Canada and had to borrow the money to go to England for consecration. Nevertheless, he travelled through his diocese with his own horses and coachman. It is told that after dinner glasses were passed with great ceremony and when on one occasion his chaplain accidentally spilt the wine, the Scotch instinct came out

as the bishop sharply said: "Haud your havers, ye fule, and dinna waste the guid wine; do ye think it's buttermilk?" And so the story of a great fighting episcopate vividly unfolds through twenty-one chapters brimming over with life and color. There are five Appendices; ten pages of closely-printed Bibliography, and an illuminating and learned discussion of the term "Anglican". The Book is sumptuously bound, beautifully printed, and a special word should be said for the numerous photographs, reproductions of woodcuts and watercolors. One of the line drawings is of special interest to Americans—it is entitled, "Prelate and Plutocrats", and shows Bishop Rowe of Alaska, J. Pierpont Morgan and John D. Rockefeller "playing Duck-on-the-Rock". The frontispiece is a striking reproduction in color of the author, William Perkins Bull, K. C., LL. B., from a painting by Sir Wily Grier.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

Religion and the State in Georgia in the Eighteenth Century. By Reba Carolyn Strickland. Columbia University Press, 1939. \$2.50.

This is a very much needed and an excellent account of the influence of religion on government and *vice versa* in the last of the thirteen original colonies. Doctor Strickland makes no attempt to supply a definite chronological treatment of the development of the various religious bodies in Georgia; but in her study of the founding of the province, the policy and actions of the Trustees and their agents, the royal government, the American Revolution, and the changes growing out of the break with the Mother Country, she supplies some very interesting facts and draws conclusions which are in the main convincing.

Georgia was decidedly Anglican in its inception; indeed there is abundant ground to trace the idea to the celebrated Doctor Thomas Bray, one of the most influential churchmen of his day. The Trustees of Georgia and the Associates of Doctor Bray existed for a while as a single organisation, even using the same minute book and regarding their object and interests as identical. But Georgia, on its settlement, became a haven for the distressed and persecuted of other religious affiliations. The native of Georgia looks back on that tolerant and hospitable attitude with pardonable pride; but as an Episcopalian he realizes that therein were latent the forces which hindered a strong establishment of the Church of England. At least three of the Eighteenth Century Georgia clergymen belong to world-history—John Wesley, Charles Wesley, and George Whitefield, but not one of these made a substantial contribution to the Church of Georgia *per se*. There were no other Anglican colonial clergymen who measured in intellect, industry, or consecration to at least twenty or thirty whom we might pick from the colonies further north; sincere and moral men as they doubtless were, they were mediocre personalities. Furthermore, the life of pre-Revolutionary Georgia was only some forty years—not long enough for roots to sink deeply. As a result, the Church of England never gained a solid foundation in Georgia. The colony was thinly settled, and its population scattered; the Church was from the outset confronted by the zealots of other religious bodies—some of whom still bore the mark of persecution abroad. The Anglican clergy tried hard to assert and enforce their prerogatives, but they and their constituents found themselves opposed and thwarted by powerful dissenting elements. When the Revolution became a reality, the Church, with its Tory leanings, suffered a deadly blow.

Ever since, the Episcopal Church has found itself in Georgia "only one of many, with no special privileges, dependent upon voluntary contributions for its support."

It appears that Doctor Strickland is a bit vague about the special functions of the S. P. C. K. and the S. P. G. She says: "Although the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was the older and parent organization, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts did more work in the colonies. . . . The S. P. G. undertook to send missionaries to the plantations and to support them for three years while a glebe was being laid out and cultivated for the purpose" (p. 28). As a matter of fact, the S. P. G. very largely relieved the S. P. C. K. of the propagation and support of colonial missions; and the S. P. C. K. was left free to focus its attention on its main object, which was educational work. The circulation of the Bible and Prayer-book, the founding of Church libraries, the distribution of books and tracts, and certain philanthropic measures became the special activity and aim of the S. P. C. K. The two societies were in no sense overlapping or competing organizations; and the selection of missionaries for the colonies, the soliciting of funds for their support, and the checking up on their ministrations became the special service of the S. P. G.

Since Doctor Strickland brings the Reverend James Seymour into her account more than once and states that, because of his Tory sympathies, "eventually he was compelled to retire to Savannah within the British lines" (p. 147), and that at last he went to Savannah "where he assisted the minister of Christ Church and tried to make a living teaching school" (p. 159), it is of interest to suggest some facts in connection with his subsequent career. Finding his position difficult, if not impossible, after the siege of Fort Augusta, in 1780, when his "Houses were plundered and destroyed; His lands seized upon Confiscated and Sold; Great part of his Negroes seized and carried into the Province of Virginia" (American Loyalist Claims: Audit Office: Bundle A. O. 13/36a), he found refuge in Florida. He visited New Smyrna, and assisted the Reverend John Forbes at St. Augustine. After the death of Forbes, he was the only Anglican clergyman in the province. On February 14th, 1784, he wrote the S. P. G. that since June 8th, he had baptised 94 children, married 33 couples, and buried 47 corpses (S. P. G. New Photostats, L. C., Fla., pp. 303-305, 302). When the Spaniards took possession of Florida, Mr. Seymour started for the Bahamas, and died on his way in 1784. His widow filed a claim for his losses.

We note that in her bibliography she refers to the "Hawkes Transcripts" in the New York Historical Society—the collection of Doctor Francis L. Hawks. We regret her persistent use of "Reverend" without the definite article; perhaps nothing jars the ear of the purist more than this omission. Doctor Strickland, however, is not the only offender in this regard. Her merits so far outweigh the defects, and the sane and unbiased statement of the case so completely eclipses the instances in which we might register disagreement, that we gladly acclaim her book a real contribution to American history.

EDGAR LEGARE PENNINGTON.

The First Hundred Years. A Centennial History of the History of the Church of the Holy Cross, Ticonderoga, New York. 1839-1939.

This brochure is an admirable illustration of what can be done in the way of the publication of parish histories by churches where funds are not available

for printing a book. It is well and clearly mimeographed and will serve admirably as a permanent record. From many sources the rector has compiled a valuable account of the activities of one of our smaller parishes and has done an excellent piece of work. It is to be hoped his method may be widely followed.

St. George Tucker: A Citizen of No Mean City. By Mary Haldane Coleman
Richmond, Virginia.

A happy combination of a Biography with a vivid sketch of life in the colonial city of Williamsburgh. The Tuckers hailed from the County of Kent, England, and in the seventeenth century migrated to Bermuda where St. George Tucker was born in 1752. Twenty years later he entered William and Mary College where students were taught and boarded "for the inconsiderable sum of thirteen pounds, ten shillings per annum". He studied law under George Wythe. The biography unfolds the story of a large and useful life in which St. George played many parts.—merchant; plantation owner; practising lawyer; college professor, and all of them with honor. In 1779 he joined a company of volunteers and later served with distinction in the campaign against Cornwallis. At the close of the war he settled in Williamsburgh where he spent the rest of a long and honored life. The author of this book is one of his descendants and lives in the old Tucker house. She has invested this biography with impelling charm.

Church Activities in West Virginia prepared by The Historical Records Survey Division of Professional and Service Progress Administration. The Protestant Episcopal Church. Wheeling, West Virginia. June, 1939.

Whatever general criticism may be passed on the W. P. A., it deserves great credit for its work of historical investigation, especially as it relates to Church activities. This survey of the work and life of the Church in West Virginia is all that could be desired. Beginning with a sketch of the history of the diocese; it includes the archives of the diocese and of such parish archives as have been preserved, and there is an admirable chapter on the government of the diocese and of the parishes. Obviously, it would have been impossible for a diocese like West Virginia to have done this work and all students of our Church history are under obligation to the W. P. A., for so freely placing this wealth of material at their disposal.

E. CLOWES CHORLEY.

Thomas Bray's Associate and their Work Among the Negroes. By Edgar Legare Pennington. Worcester, Mass.

The Anglican Clergy of Pennsylvania in the American Revolution. By Edgar Legare Pennington. 1939.

Dr. Pennington is adding to his monographs which one hopes will soon be bound together in a volume which will prove of surpassing interest. The first of these relates materially to the work of the Church among the negroes in the earlier period, and the second does the same in the relation of the Anglican clergy in the colonies toward the Revolution. The author is our foremost authority on the colonial period.

THE EPISCOPAL THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL

Cambridge, Massachusetts

Situated within the Harvard
University neighborhood.

Close affiliation with the
various departments of the Uni-
versity—The Graduate School
of Arts and Sciences, The Gradu-
ate School of Education, The
Theological School, etc.—offer-
ing opportunities for study in
such allied fields as philosophy,
psychology, history, sociology,
education, etc., and for post-
graduate theological work lead-
ing to advanced degrees.

Information may be obtained
from the Dean.

SURPLICES, CASSOCKS ETC.



FOR THE
CLERGY AND
CHOIR

After Litany,
Unbrokenly,
Memento by the
Yard

Tailoring
S. W. HALL, INC.
217 Fifth Avenue
New York

✠ SHRINE MONT ✠

VACATIONS—May-October for
Clergy, laity, families, friends. In
high Alleghenia west of Washington
by motor, bus or train. Grounds of
rare beauty include half a mountain;
mineral springs, many recreations;
modern cottages, central social hall
and refectory; noted SHRINE. Per-
petual trust of the Church. Vacation
rate—\$15 a week, \$34 by 4 weeks

Freehold
REV. E. L. WOODWARD, M. D.,
Director
Shrine Mont, Orkney Springs, Va.

Morehouse - Gorham Church Book Store

We Carry a Full Line of
BIBLES, PRAYER BOOKS,
CHOIR HYMNALS,
RELIGIOUS BOOKS,
CROSSES,
CRUCIFIXES,
RELIGIOUS PICTURES,
RELIGIOUS CARDS,
PARISH AND CHURCH SCHOOL
SUPPLIES,
DEVOTIONAL MANUALS,
BRASSWARE.

When attending the New York World's
Fair visit our large and attractive store on
East 41st St., between Fifth Ave. and
Madison Ave.

14 EAST 41st STREET
NEW YORK CITY

THEOLOGICAL BOOKS

SECOND HAND

Largest stock in America. Over
half a million Theological Books—
Classified by subject. Catalog
free. Correspondence and "Want
Lists" invited. Especially fine
stock in American Church His-
tory.

(Please mention the HISTORICAL
ECLAIR when writing)

Schulte's Book Store

25-27 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y.

... To Make Our Church a Singing Church ...



Our Easter Hymns have been sung a thousand years and more . . . Here are some of them, now set to the music of Palestrina, J. S. Bach, J. M. Haydn, Sullivan and others . . .

Hail festal day, to endless ages
known..... *Venantius Fortunatus* 530-609 A.D.

Welcome, happy morning..... " " " "

Come, ye faithful, raise the
strain..... *St. John of Damascus*, 749 A.D.

The day of resurrection.... " " " " " A.D.

Jesus Christ is risen today..... *Latin, 14th Century*

The strife is o'er, the battle done... *Latin*

At the Lamb's high feast we sing... *Latin*

HYMNAL

Words only.....\$0.40

Musical, Standard.. 1.20*

Musical, Choir..... 1.50*

PRAYER BOOK

Pew edition, small.....0.35

Pew edition, large.....0.50

*In lots of 100. Standard edition at \$1.00 and Choir at \$1.30
Carriage charges extra

THE CHURCH HYMNAL CORPORATION

(A Subsidiary of The Church Pension Fund)

Twenty Exchange Place, New York